

The MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE SAXON IMMIGRATION TO MISSOURI, 1838-1839

BY P. E. KRETZMANN

On November 7, 1838, the *Bremer Zeitung*, the leading newspaper of the German city of Bremen, published the following editorial note, written by the editor, Dr. Donadt:

The Rev. Martin Stephan of Dresden has arrived in our city and with him two hundred of his fellow-Lutherans to embark for New Orleans. More than four hundred persons, who arrived from Saxony via Hamburg, have already set sail . . . The more we learn to know these well-mannered, law-abiding, and, in fact, highly educated people, the more we are strengthened in the conviction that the various newspaper reports about Pastor Stephan and his congregation may have originated from very sordid and malicious sources and that they are greatly distorted, if not entirely false. It is to be deplored that Germany, and especially Saxony, is losing in them a part of its peaceable, industrious, and well-to-do inhabitants, against whom no other charge can be adduced than that they adhere strictly to the teachings of Luther. It gives us some satisfaction, however, to visualize a colony growing up along the Missouri (?) River which will be a credit to the German name, and we wish our departing countrymen the best of success in their undertaking.

This editorial note may well serve as our point of departure, since it both states an historical fact, that of the emigration of the Saxon Lutherans, and refers to some of the circumstances which played an important part in the early history of the Saxon colony in Missouri. For one thing, Dr. Donadt seems to have understood the reasons for the emigration correctly, since he evidently realized that the motives actuating the Saxons were not selfish or mercenary. The truth has been well stated in a recent address, which was delivered in commemoration of the entire event:

We deem it necessary . . . in just a couple of paragraphs to call attention to a few considerations so essential to an intelligent understanding of those early days. First, we consider the motives that constrained the Saxons to leave their fatherland. Spiritual conditions in the homeland had become well-nigh intolerable. False teachers and false doctrines were being forced upon them from pulpit and in school-room. God's pure Word, freedom of worship, a good conscience, their

soul's salvation and that of their children as well, were at stake. Something drastic had to be done, and that something very soon, 'ere irreparable damage be done. The only solution that offered itself was to emigrate. And this they did, this bold band of Saxons, men, women, and children, pastors, candidates, teachers, lawyers, doctors, artisans, farmers, day-laborers, but Lutheran Christians all,—not to Australia, as originally planned, but, under God's providence, to these our United States of America With the Saxons, we repeat, it was spiritual values and concerns above all.¹

This is a brief, but correct description of the motives which prompted the Saxons to leave their fatherland. Not that there was not an element of fanaticism connected with the movement, as many members of the group later realized. Even Professor C. F. W. Walther was constrained to confess, in 1871, when referring to the days of the Saxon emigration:

Through terrible experiences it had become evident to us all that our exodus from the land of our birth had not been an exodus of Israel out of Egypt by the command of the Lord. Even *that* comfort, that our great distress was a distress for Jesus' sake had dissolved. Heaped with disgrace before the world and tortured with reproaches in our conscience, we hardly dared in childlike confidence to seek refuge with the great Helper in every need.²

The psychology of the movement can hardly be understood without a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the man who was the leader of the group which assembled at Bremen during October of the year 1838. This was the preacher of the Lutheran Bohemian congregation at St. John's in Dresden, Martin Stephan. He was a man of exceptional talents, captivating personality, and deep psychological insight. Vehse characterizes Stephan as follows:

He did not possess a culture along the lines of academic and classical learning. But he was one of the men to whom, by the traditions of the Lutheran Church of Silesia, which had flourished till the end of the previous century, the pure doctrine of this Church had been transmitted; moreover he had gained, in the library of the St. Elizabeth's Church in Breslau, to which he had received admission through Scheibel, even in early youth a rather comprehensive knowledge of the literature and the history of this

¹Petersen, Justin A., in *Report of the 21st Regular Convention of the Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church*, p p. 48, 49.

²In *Lutherische Brosamen*, a collection of addresses, p. 476.

Church, and this knowledge he had in later years, due to an excellent memory, constantly extended. He was particularly proficient in church history and was able to transmit it in a way that was both clear and interesting. In addition he had, on the basis of his extensive and intimate acquaintance with persons of the highest social position as well as with those of the lowest classes, gained possession of a mass of the most interesting material concerning people and things, and thereby also a rare and reliable understanding of men.³

With this man the Walthers (Otto Herman and Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm), E. G. W. Keyl, E. M. Buerger, C. F. Gruber, G. H. Loeber, J. F. Buenger, Theodor Brohm, and Ottomar Fuerbringer had kept in close contact through correspondence and personal visits. When Stephan suggested emigration to a land of religious freedom, he found these men willing to consider his proposition, not only so far as their own persons and families were concerned, but also to the extent in which they might be able to influence their congregations and individuals with whom they possessed some authority. Other persons were gained for the undertaking, such as the candidates of theology Wetzel, Kluegel, Geyer, Schieferdecker, Goenner, Wege, also professional men in other lines, namely Gempp, M. D., Vehse, LL. D., Marbach, LL. D., besides Fischer and Boehlau, who were well-to-do merchants, and many others. By September 4, 1838, a total of 707 persons had made announcement that they were ready to join the group of emigrants. Some of these were evidently hindered from embarking on the vessels which had been chartered in July, 1838, by Marbach and Fischer, others, like J. F. Buenger and his mother, were detained and made the trip to Missouri by way of New York.

The voyage was apparently begun according to schedule. The *Copernicus* left Bremerhaven on November 3, 1838, and arrived at New Orleans on Monday, December 31, 1838, too late, however, to be registered for arrival at the port, the official record, therefore, giving January 2, 1839, as the date of entry. The *Johann Georg* was scheduled to leave Bremerhaven on November 1, 1838, but a last-minute postponement

³Die Stephan'sche Auswanderung nach Amerika, pp. 1-2.

necessitated a delay of two and one-half days, so that the date of its departure is also given as November 3, a few hours after the *Copernicus* had sailed. This ship arrived at New Orleans on January 5, 1839. The third ship, the *Republic*, left Bremerhaven on November 12, 1838, and arrived in New Orleans on January 12, 1839. The fourth ship was the *Olbers*, which left Bremerhaven on Sunday, November 18, 1838, and cast anchor at New Orleans on January 20, 1839. The fifth ship, the *Amalia*, also left Bremerhaven on November 18, 1838, but was lost at sea, the supposition being that it foundered in a storm in the Bay of Biscay.

At this point reference should be made to the *Regulations for the Emigrants*, as they were approved in Dresden on May 17, 1838. For the purpose of this short sketch the following paragraphs are of interest:

Paragraph 4. Place of Settlement.—The place of colonization in the United States of North America is to be chosen in one of the Western States, in Missouri or Illinois or perhaps in Indiana.

Paragraph 5. Itinerary.—Therefore the city of Saint Louis, in the State of Missouri, which lies in the center of all these states and is the commercial metropolis, is to be their goal, from where one can look about for a suitable locality for settlement in one of the states named.

The point of embarkation in Europe is to be Hamburg or Bremen, the port of debarkation New Orleans, and from there the emigrants are to proceed by way of river steamboat on the Mississippi to the provisional goal of their journey, Saint Louis.

Paragraph 6. Purchase of Land.—From Saint Louis a commission of all the emigrants is to be elected for the purchase of a parcel of contiguous land. After what is necessary of this land for church, school, and community has been reserved, the remainder shall be parceled out to each settler according to his needs. These lands collectively shall be the village or town which is to be founded.

Outside of the community each one may buy as much land as he desires.

Paragraph 9. Credit Fund (Kreditkasse).—For the temporary payment of the necessary disbursements for church, school, and community needs, for aid to emigrants without means, and for the purchase of the above-mentioned parcel of land a loan, or credit, fund is to be established These contributions which make up the credit fund are to be entirely voluntary.⁴

⁴The total amount paid into this treasury was almost 124,000 taler.

The matter of determining the exact number of Saxons who actually reached St. Louis via New Orleans offers a few difficulties. It was formerly stated, in a general way, that more than seven hundred persons came to St. Louis with this company. More specifically, recent accounts give the number of passengers on the ships as named in the order above: 177, 130, 111, 181, with 56 on the ill-fated *Amalia*, which would mean 655 emigrants who left Bremen. Subtracting the *Amalia* passengers, plus a total of eight persons who died on the way over, and adding, on the other hand, one child that was born before the party reached New Orleans, we should arrive at a total of 592 persons. Another recent article, based apparently on reliable sources, gives the following numbers: *Copernicus*, 123; *Johann Georg*, 138; *Republic*, 111; *Olbers*, 181, or a total of 553. The passenger lists preserved at the Port of New Orleans, as recently published,⁵ enumerate the following totals: *Copernicus*, 178; *Johann Georg*, 141; *Republic*, 113; *Olbers*, 184, or a total of 616. The adjustments referred to above (8 deaths, one birth) would make the total for the four ships 609 persons. The passenger list of the *Amalia*, as given in the above-mentioned list, enumerates 58 persons, a total which agrees also with the account found in the narrative of the voyage given by Guenther,⁶ who also states that there were 43 adults and 15 children in the party. It would seem that the total number of persons who reached St. Louis in January and February, 1839, may safely be placed at somewhat more than 600. These came up the Mississippi river on four steamers, the *Copernicus* passengers on the *Rienzi*, arriving at St. Louis on January 18, 1839, the *Johann Georg* passengers on the *Clyde*, the *Republic* passengers on the *Knickerbocker*, and the *Olbers* passengers on the *Selma*, the last three reaching their destination on January 30, February 5, and February 19, 1839, respectively.

An incident of far-reaching consequences took place on the *Selma* during the trip up the river. Even before the *Olbers* had reached New Orleans, on January 15, Stephan had been elected bishop of the congregation, or at least of the colonists

⁵Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, Vol XI (1938), pp. 33-37.

⁶Schicksale und Abenteuer der aus Sachsen eingewanderten Stephanianer.

on the ship on which he was a passenger. During the trip up the Mississippi, which lasted from January 31 to February 19, his fellow-passengers signed a declaration in which they pledged themselves to accept and uphold the episcopal form of church government and to submit themselves, not only in matters of the Word of God, but also in those pertaining to the external conduct of the colony, to the direction of their bishop, Pastor Stephan.⁷

What has been said till now offers just the barest outline of events as they transpired until the day when the last of the group of Saxons under Pastor Stephan reached St. Louis. This much information is absolutely essential if one desires to have the proper background for an understanding of the movement in its further development in the new home of the colonists. For true history, after all, is not a mere array of dates and names, facts and figures, but an account of aspirations and struggles, of plans and projects, of successes and failures.

Since St. Louis was not to be the final goal of the immigrants, their leaders immediately arranged for temporary quarters. The city at that time numbered only some 16,200 inhabitants, and therefore the coming of a group of 600 people caused a considerable commotion. The reception of the Saxons on the part of the Americans (the English-speaking citizens) was, on the whole, rather friendly. Since the immigrants were in need of a place of worship, Bishop Kemper of Christ Church Cathedral offered them the use of his church in the following fine statement, published on a Sunday in March:

A body of Lutherans, having been persecuted by the Saxon government because they believed it their duty to adhere to the doctrine inculcated by their great leader and contained [in] the Augsburg Confession of Faith, have arrived here with the intention of settling in this or one of the neighboring states, and, having been deprived of the privilege of public worship for three months, they have earnestly and most respectfully requested the use of our church that they may again unite in all the ordinances of our holy religion. I have, therefore, with the entire approbation of the vestry, granted the use of our church for this day from 2 P. M.

⁷Vehse, *Die Stephan'sche Auswanderung*, pp. 163-168.

until sunset to a denomination whose early members were highly esteemed by the English reformers and with whom our glorious martyrs Cranmer, Ridley, and others had much early intercourse.⁸

On the other hand, the reception of the immigrants on the part of the citizens of St. Louis who were of German descent was suspicious, if not definitely antagonistic, especially on the part of those who felt that they must resent the "ministerial domination" to which the Saxons were subjected. The *Anzeiger des Westens*, a German weekly, acted as spokesman for this group and published some rather derogatory statements concerning the situation, as the editors and other exponents of liberalism viewed conditions. After repeated efforts had been made to justify the emigration, silence was finally resorted to by the Saxons as the best answer to unwarranted attacks. A "defense" of Pastor Stephan and his followers was drawn up by Pastors G. H. Loeber, E. W. Buerger, J. J. Max Oertel (who had joined the group, coming from New York), E. G. W. Keyl, and C. F. W. Walther, on April 24 and published three days later, a day after Pastor Stephan had left for Perry county.

Meanwhile a committee had been elected to arrange for the purchase of a suitable piece of land where the contemplated settlement might be effected. The members of this "land commission" were Pastor Otto Herman Walther, the lawyer Adolf Marbach, and the farmers Johann Georg Gube, Johann Gottlieb Palisch, and Christian Gottfried Schlimpert. The agent who acted in their behalf was Mr. Christian Bimpage, who had come to America with the Giessner Emigration Society and was conducting an Intelligence and Commission Office in St. Louis. The suggestion to remain in St. Louis and its immediate vicinity was immediately vetoed. An offer was received from the old French family of the Gratiots to sell the immigrants a fertile tract of land on the banks of the Meramec river, consisting of 15,000 acres, the purchasers to fix their own terms as to payments, but this was rejected, apparently under direct pressure from above. Finally, within six weeks after the arrival of Stephan in St. Louis,

⁸*Der Lutheraner*, Vol. 94, p. 179.

a tract of land in the southeastern part of Perry county, Missouri, consisting of 4,472.66 acres, was bought for \$9,234.25, the transaction being in cash. This was on April 8, 1839. An additional \$1,000 was paid to a Mr. D. Sullivan for the landing-place on the river. Two days later, on April 10, Mr. Christian Bimpage, the agent, together with Mr. Thierry, a surveyor, and a few carpenters and laborers arrived at the landing. On the following day they began the surveying of the land purchased for the colony and the erection of log cabins which were to serve as temporary homes for the colonists. The carpenters in Perry county received one dollar a day and the laborers fifty cents a day, plus meals and lodging. Mrs. Johanna Regina Heiner, the wife of carpenter Carl Johann Christian Heiner, had been engaged by the land commission to do the cooking for the workingmen. During the seventy days she served in this capacity she received forty cents a day.

On April 27, Stephan, who had in the meantime lived rather luxuriously in St. Louis, left the city on the steamer *United States*, in order personally to supervise the remainder of the building program in Perry county. He was accompanied by the Pastors Keyl and Otto Herman Walther, the ministerial candidate, Theo. Julius Brohm and the lawyer Adolf Marbach, together with a second division of workmen. There is a possibility that the unfriendliness shown by a part of the German element in St. Louis hastened the departure of Stephan, for his extravagance in spending a total of 12,000 Prussian taler in seven months, of which two-thirds were used for a library, an organ, orchestra instruments, etc., and one-third of that amount for the house of the leader, had become known, and a rash statement on the part of one of the immigrants had so embittered certain people that Dr. Vehse was insulted on the street and that stones were thrown at the house where Stephan lived. For that reason it was deemed advisable to have the colonists transferred to Perry county as soon as the necessary arrangements could be completed.

The leaders of the expedition may have planned at first to have all the Saxons removed to Perry county, but this did not materialize. As many of the group as could find work in St. Louis preferred to stay in the city, chiefly professional men,

artisans, merchants, and laborers. They organized a congregation of 120 members and called Pastor O. H. Walther to be their minister. They were known as the Saxon Congregation, and they continued to conduct their services at Christ Church Cathedral, at Fifth (now Broadway) and Chestnut Streets until the fall of 1842. On the second Sunday in Advent of the year 1842 their first church building, on Lombard, between Second and Third Streets, was dedicated. Pastor O. H. Walther served till January 21, 1841, when he became a victim of pneumonia. The congregation then called Pastor C. F. W. Walther, the brother of their deceased pastor and he was inducted into office on Jubilate Sunday, 1841. It was under his direction that the church was built, and he also suggested the name Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church. The congregation is affectionately called "Old Trinity," and is the mother church of all Lutheran congregations in St. Louis and vicinity.

The transfer of the immigrants who were to make Perry county their home had been effected largely during April and May, 1839, and most of them made every effort to become accustomed to conditions in a country which they must really wrest from the wilderness. It was a severe blow for the entire group when certain accusations were preferred against their leader, among them such as pertained to his luxurious, almost voluptuous form of living and his dictatorial conduct. A committee was delegated to deal with Pastor Stephan. He was deposed from office and expelled from the colony, being taken across the Mississippi to the Illinois side. The officials of the immigrants published a formal declaration and explanation of the transaction dated May 27, in the *Anzeiger des Westens* of June 1, 1839.

To the shock of this discovery was added the uncertainty of a great many colonists as to their status. They had had unbounded, almost absolute faith in their leader, and he had failed them. Yet the motive for their emigration had been religious: they had desired to escape from unbearable conditions in Saxony and had therefore severed their connections with the church body of which they, like their fathers before them, had been members. They now

felt that they were no longer an organized congregation, but a rabble, and that their pastors no longer had the right to minister to them. The lawyers Vehse and Marbach, together with other leading men, like Jaeckel and Fischer, deserted the immigrants and returned to Germany, after addressing a document of protest, dated September 19, 1839, to the Pastors Loeber, Keyl, Buerger, and the Walther brothers (Gruber had not yet arrived). This document set forth the grievances and the claims of the protesting parties, in sincerity and good faith throughout, but not always with sound theology.

These mental and spiritual conditions were aggravated by the physical hardships which fell to the lot of the colonists. Their chief enemies were malaria, extreme poverty, and the unaccustomed demands of pioneer work in a strange country. Even at the beginning of June their plight was such as to challenge the pity of the German population of St. Louis, part of which had taken such a definitely hostile attitude a few months before. A meeting was held on June 10 which accepted a number of significant resolutions. Even now the participants in this meeting could not yet understand the underlying causes of the immigration, for the fifth resolution reads:

Be it resolved, that it behooves us as fellow-countrymen, as Germans who are concerned lest the German name be besmirched under their very eyes, to liberate the diligent Saxons from the ministerial guardianship and to make it possible for them as honorable and independent people, by diligence and ambition, to become partakers of the benefits of our free fatherland.

Some members of the group, disillusioned and disgruntled, returned to Germany.

Nevertheless the Perry county project went forward, and after a few crops had been harvested, the dogged persistence of the colonists was gradually rewarded. The settlement was divided into parishes, which have practically continued with the old names to this day. Altenburg soon boasted a fairly large congregation and called Pastor H. Loeber as its minister. Pastor E. G. W. Keyl was called to serve Frohna and Wittenberg, while Pastor C. F. W. Walther was in charge of Dresden and Johannisberg. For a while

Pastor E. M. Buerger had charge of the congregation at Seelitz, near Altenburg, but later accepted a call to Buffalo, New York. When Pastor C. F. Gruber, shortly before Christmas of the year 1839, joined the Saxon colonists, with 141 additional people, he founded the village of Paitzdorf and served the congregation at this place.

Glimpses of the conditions as they obtained in the colony toward the end of the year 1839 are given in a few letters which have been preserved in family archives. In a letter written by Pastor Loeber we are told:

We are now divided into five congregations, whose five clergymen form a joint ministry. The older Walther serves the congregation that remained in St. Louis and is permitted to have its services in the Episcopal church. The younger Walther labors in the congregation at Dresden; the emigrants from Berlin [those that were led by Pastor Oertel], living one mile away, also belong to Walther's congregation. In the territory of Dresden are several shacks which were built in the beginning of our settlement here. In one of these the three married ministers with their families are living in close quarters, but without being in each other's way. Walther, together with Candidate Fuerbringer, lives with those from Berlin. Opposite our house many families live together in a much larger shack of flimsy build (called camp). In this camp we also have our common services and give the most necessary schooling, until our almost completed college . . . and the church and school of each congregation are ready.

Several of my Altenburg people have built their homes in neighboring congregations, therefore they live at a considerable distance. Unaccustomed and unexpected problems and questions are to be solved that are often beyond my ability and strength. In our congregation men use their own judgment; they know fairly well what constitutes a proper evangelical sermon. Still time and place are not adapted to regular meditation . . .

Do not worry on our account because of Indians, wild beasts, and Mexican soldiers; so far all these things did not come near us.

As for living conditions during the first year of the Perry county settlement, glimpses are afforded in a letter written by Christiana Loeber to her brother Gottwert Friedemann:

It is remarkable how God always helps us. Besides the fine weather that we enjoy, the Americans have had a larger crop this year than they have had since quite a while; they say so themselves, with amazement. This prompts the people, who are mostly excellent men, to be helpful to us, supporting us with victuals and in other ways. Loads of apples and

sacks of flour they donate to our people, and you may stay with them as long as you choose to gather supplies for the winter. I myself did this twice so far, but in return for the favor shown me I knitted and sewed for them. They appreciate this and repay one generously. They also like to employ the men and the young men of the Germans, and even desire to marry them. But we ourselves have so many young men that not near enough girls are to be found in our congregations

Oh it is not hard at all to make a living here, if we were only fully settled first. I wish the sister of H. S. would get me one of those small spinning-machines, as they are not yet to be had here. Yarn is high, but cotton one can raise himself. I also had given to me a complete instruction for the culture of silkworms and the fabrication of silk. I would like to do this, if I only had my own little house first. Mulberry-trees are so plentiful that they are used for the manufacture of all kinds of woodenware. We ourselves have a churning-tub [of mulberry wood] to take care of the milk of our two cows. Heinrich and Gotthilf have the two calves

We have thought with love and concern of all your birthdays Should other persons intend to emigrate, tell them that there is much good land in this neighborhood, and that twenty farmers who are living at a place a few miles from here will move to Illinois to join their church and to make room for our dear children.

In closing this brief summary of the Saxon immigration, reference must by all means be made to a project undertaken within a few months after the settlement was made, namely the founding of a higher institution of learning, not in the metropolis, but amid the primitive conditions of Perry county. For in spite of all their poverty and the adverse conditions in which the colonists found themselves, their leaders had the courage and the vision to plan and to erect a college. The three candidates of theology who personally wielded the saw, the ax, and the hammer, were Theo. J. Brohm, Ottomar Fuerbringer, and J. Fr. Buenger. On August 13, 1839, a notice was inserted in the *Anzeiger des Westens*, announcing that the school then in process of construction, though a log cabin, would include in its course of study all the branches of a German *Gymnasium*, the subjects actually listed being Religion, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French, English, Geography, History, Mathematics, Physics, Natural History, Elements of Philosophy, Music, Drawing. The opening of the school, which had been planned for October 1, was delayed until December 9, 1839. But the dedication of the log cabin college took place in October, and Pastor Otto Herman

Walther of St. Louis wrote a poem for this occasion which is treasured to this day, for the opening verses of each stanza present the fundamental thought of the prayer: "Lord, come in! Let this house be Dedicated unto Thee!"

The teachers at this first Concordia in the midst of the forest primeval, at least in the first years, were the three candidates of theology who had been so active in the construction of the log cabin, assisted by Pastor Loeber and others. The first pupils, as nearly as can be ascertained, were F. J. Biltz, J. A. F. W. Mueller, C. H. Loeber, H. W. Buenger, Theo. Schubert, a boy from the neighborhood by the name of Price, and Theobald V. Wurmb. Available records indicate that the school was co-educational in a sense, for the following girls were enrolled in the early years: Maria Wurmb, Sarah Wurmb, Lydia Buenger, and Martha Loeber. Though these young ladies did not take the full academic course, they received a thorough training in the advanced elementary subjects, and possibly in some high school and college branches. The log cabin which is the mother institution of all the junior colleges and seminaries of the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church, was later moved to a place near the Altenburg church and provided with a suitable shelter against the elements. A replica of this building was erected in the spring of 1938, on the spacious grounds of Concordia Seminary, now located in the City of Clayton, Missouri, just west of the city limits of St. Louis.

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PORTRAITS OF DANIEL BOONE

BY ROY T. KING

The portraits of Daniel Boone, who after leaving West Virginia sometime between 1797 and 1799¹ spent the remaining years of his life in Missouri, are of historical as well as artistic interest. Through the courtesy of owners, librarians, and others interested in the subject, the State Historical Society of Missouri has obtained photographs of many of them, as well as historical data regarding them. The following is a presentation only of the historical details as given by the owners themselves and by meager published accounts. The portraits reproduced are believed to be representative, but because of the large number located it has not been found practicable to publish all of them. Paintings of Boone by other artists which were reproduced by engravers are listed as a matter of record, although only the engravings have been located. In addition to the paintings discussed others no doubt exist, but extensive correspondence so far has not brought them to light.

Through his personal contact, and especially because of the large number of portraits attributed to him, Chester Harding stands as the preeminent painter of Daniel Boone. Modestly claiming only "two or three copies" besides the original, Harding is now credited with seven "copies." Evidence presented in the following pages throws entirely new light on the painting of Boone by Harding, Audubon, Sully, and other representative artists.

It may now be said, in correction of former accounts, that Boone's portrait was painted by Chester Harding in 1820, and not in 1819.² The former, restrained by a recent illness and by his advanced age, was staying at the Callaway home,

¹The actual date is uncertain. Draper's notes, and biographies based on them, indicate 1799, but *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, p. 736, indicates that he settled in Missouri "before the year 1798."

²*Draper Mss.*, Interview With Nathan Boone, 1851, 6S, p. 277, (State Historical Society of Wisconsin): "During the whole summer of 1820, he was at Callaway's—there had his portrait taken by Mr. Harding; they all thought

located near the present site of Marthasville. The latter, a young and enterprising artist with somewhat limited experience in Paris, Kentucky, and in Philadelphia, had been working in St. Louis a short time. Harding says, "In June of this year [1820] I made a trip of one hundred miles for the purpose of painting the portrait of old Colonel Daniel Boone. I had much trouble in finding him. He was living some miles from the main road, in one of the cabins of an old block-house, which was built for the protection of settlers against the incursions of the Indians."³

It is related by J. M. Peck⁴ that as Boone was feeble he was supported by his friend, the Rev. J. E. Welch, while sitting for the portrait. Harding, however, did not mention this in his account, nor did Nathan Boone report this to Draper.

"The story of the original Harding portrait, as gathered from statements [to the late Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites] by members of the painter's family, supplemented by letters of Harding himself to the late Lyman C. Draper, is an interesting one. The artist used for his portrait a piece of ordinary table oilcloth. For many years the painting was in the capitol at Frankfort, Ky., 'from the fact that it was hoped the State would buy it.' But the State had meanwhile become possessed of another oil portrait painted about 1839 or 1840 by a Mr. Allen,⁵ or Harrodsburg, Ky.—an ideal sketch, of no special merit. Harding's portrait, apparently the only one of Boone painted from life, was not purchased, for the State did not wish to be at the expense of two paintings.

it good, except that it did not exhibit the plump cheek & hence the broad face he used to exhibit in his robust days . . ."

St. Louis *Enquirer* (weekly), October 14, 1820: "It is a source also of no inconsiderable solace that a few weeks before his death, his Portrait was taken by Mr. Harding . . ."

Peck, J. M., *Life of Daniel Boone*, pp. 189-190: "During the summer of 1820, a patriotic solicitude prompted a distinguished American artist, Mr. Harding, to take his portrait, and for that purpose he made a visit to the residence of Mr. Callaway . . ."

Harding's advertisement appeared in the St. Louis *Enquirer* (semi-weekly) on May 6, 1820, and did not reappear until December 2, 1820 (in the weekly). On the latter date he announced that he had "returned to St. Louis." He also related his summer's experiences in *My Egotistigraphy* (pages 35-40), but did not indicate the year.

³Harding, Chester, *My Egotistigraphy*, p. 35.

⁴Peck, J. M., *Life of Daniel Boone*, pp. 189-190.

⁵The account of Allen's painting follows in this article.

Being upon a Western trip, in 1861, Harding, then an old man and a resident of Springfield, Mass., rescued his portrait, which was in bad condition, and carried it home. The process of restoration was necessarily a vigorous one. The artist writes (October 6, 1861): "The picture had been banged about until the greater part of it was broken to pieces . . . The head is as perfect as when it was painted, in color, though there are some small, almost imperceptible, cracks in it." The head and neck, down to the shirt-collar, were cut out and pasted upon a full-sized canvas; on this Harding had 'a very skilful artist' repaint the bust, drapery, and background, under the former's immediate direction. The picture in the present state is, therefore, a composite. The joining shows plainly in most lights. Upon the completion of the work, Harding offered to sell it to Draper, but the negotiation fell through. The restored portrait was then presented by the artist to his son-in-law, John L. King, of Springfield, Mass., and in due course it came into the possession of the latter's son [William H. King]."⁶

The portrait is now owned by Mrs. William Harding King of Winnetka, Illinois, and through the courtesy of Mrs. King and her son, S. Bowles King, a photograph of it is reproduced. Mr. King wrote, July 2, 1937: "The portrait is 23½" x 19", and may be seen at any time at this address. The artist is quoted as having painted two or three copies from this original."

After the death of Daniel Boone, on September 26, 1820, Harding and James O. Lewis, a St. Louis engraver, advertised their proposal to publish an engraving of him. This was to be a full length print "from a characteristic and correct painting," size 15 by 10 inches, to be available to subscribers at \$3.00.⁷ It is not known whether this was ever published.

⁶Thwaites, Reuben G., *Daniel Boone*, pp. 238-239, note.

⁷*Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), October 11, 1820-January 3, 1821; and *St. Louis Enquirer*, September 30, 1820-October 14, 1820. Also the special article on Daniel Boone in the *Enquirer* of October 14, 1820, indicates that Lewis had the portrait made by Harding, and as he "has already afforded ample testimonials of his proficiency in the art [of engraving]" bespeaks for them "that encouragement due from a liberal community."

Attributed to Harding also is the portrait owned by Mr. Herbert L. Pratt of New York City, who has exhibited it to the public on many occasions. It is 29 by 24 inches in size, and is excellently preserved. The late Charles Henry Hart, authority on early American portraiture, wrote the following for a catalogue of Mr. Pratt's portraits: "Half length, three-quarters to left, of aged man with full curly white hair, pale blue eyes, very aquiline nose and rugged face, in buckskin jacket with bearskin fur collar, loose white shirt and red waist-coat. Background neutral brown with a glimmer of sunlight in distance." Through the courtesy of Mr. Pratt this portrait is reproduced.

Judge Lafon Allen of Louisville, Kentucky, also owns a Harding portrait of Boone, and gives the following information in his letter regarding it:

"There is no doubt that the portrait I have was painted by Harding himself. I have preserved an old and discolored piece of paper which was attached to the back of the frame of this portrait when I acquired it about twenty-five years ago. On this is a typewritten copy of a record written by Mrs. H. C. Pindell of Louisville, Kentucky, on December 30, 1885, which reads as follows:

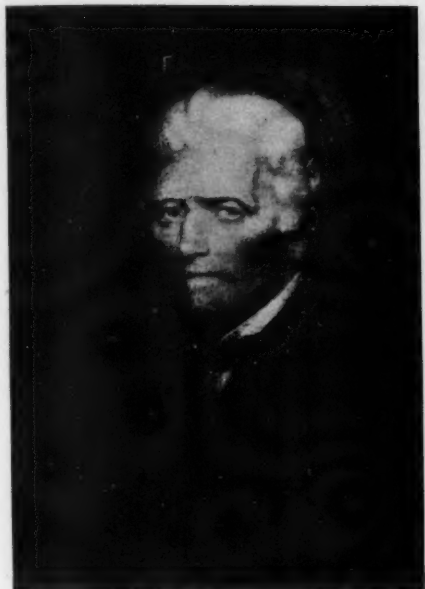
"This portrait of Daniel Boone was painted by Chester Harding, who went to Missouri for the express purpose of seeing the old pioneer in his own home. While there he took three likenesses and gave this, one of the three, to his great artist friend, Jouett. Jouett afterwards gave it to his friend, Mrs. Nannette B. Smith of Lexington. Mrs. Smith sold it to Mr. H. C. Pindell. In September, 1885, I sold it to Mr. E. T. Halsey.

(Signed) Mrs. H. C. Pindell.

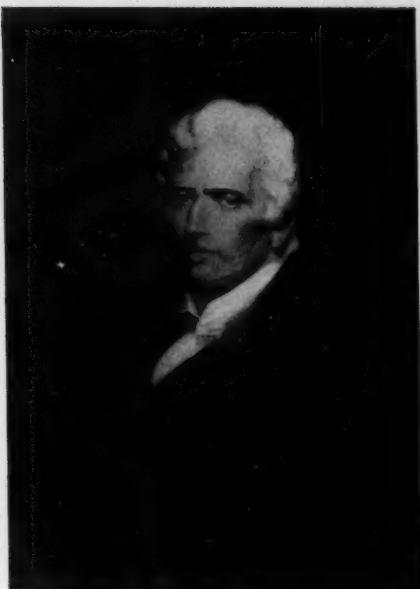
'Louisville, December 30, 1885.

'Harding said the likeness was perfect.'

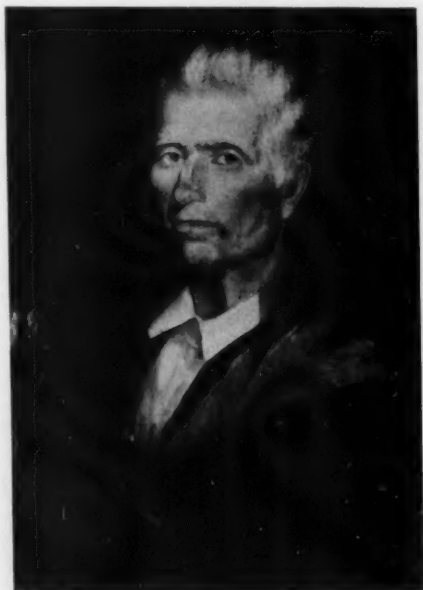
"All of the successive owners of this portrait mentioned above were persons of the highest standing and were well known to their contemporaries. Jouett was the celebrated Kentucky portrait painter, at least one of whose portraits



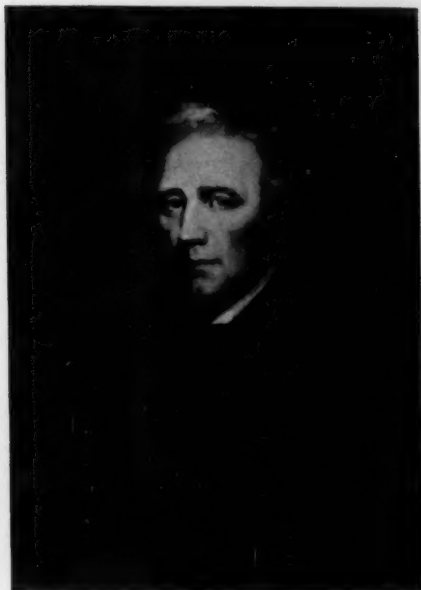
PORTRAIT BY CHESTER HARDING
Courtesy of Mrs. William Harding King



PORTRAIT BY CHESTER HARDING
Courtesy of Mr. Herbert L. Pratt



PORTRAIT BY CHESTER HARDING
Courtesy of Mrs. F. R. Bissell



PORTRAIT BY JOHN JAMES AUDUBON
Courtesy of Mr. C. W. Lyon



PORTRAIT BY THOMAS SULLY
Courtesy of Mr. Jefferson Jones



PORTRAIT BY W. C. ALLEN
Courtesy of Kentucky State Historical Society



PORTRAIT BY J. B. LONGACRE
Courtesy of Mrs. Barton Longacre Keen



PORTRAIT BY MISS CHESNEY
Courtesy of Kentucky State Historical Society

hangs in the Metropolitan Museum in New York and whose works are much sought after. Mrs. Nannette B. Smith was a well known figure in Lexington and Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Pindell had a similar standing in Louisville. Mr. E. T. Halsey was a prominent citizen of Louisville and Miss Mary Lafon was a distinguished member of a prominent Huguenot family, with connections in Lexington and Harrodsburg, two of the oldest centers of culture in Kentucky. Miss Lafon held a very unique position in Louisville, being highly esteemed not only for her personal qualities but for her philanthropic activities. Miss Lafon and Mr. Halsey, who were cousins, occupied the same dwelling for many years before Mr. Halsey's death, and since my boyhood I remember seeing this portrait in their home."

The size of this portrait is $20\frac{1}{4}$ by $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It was loaned to the late Colonel R. T. Durrett who had a copy made from it. The latter is now owned by The Filson Club, and is described later. The artist Nicola Marschall made another copy of the same portrait and presented it to the Kentucky State Historical Society, as noted in the *Register* of that Society, published in May 1910.

Two portraits of Daniel Boone are in possession of The Filson Club, in Louisville, Kentucky. One of these is known as "The Boone Without the Fur Collar," and is attributed to Chester Harding. It was once owned by the aunt of a Mrs. Morris, many years ago. Subsequently Mrs. Morris sold it to the late Colonel R. T. Durrett, and after his death it was sold by Mrs. William Durrett to Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston, president of The Filson Club.

He sent it to the late H. A. Hammond-Smith, of New York City, to be restored. On January 15, 1916, Mr. Hammond-Smith wrote as follows: "I wrote you yesterday that I thought it would not be possible to find out the artist that painted the portrait of Boone. I have, however, been able to trace it. It is the work of Chester Harding."⁸ To further verify this fact "one of the original tacks holding the canvas to

⁸Letter from Miss Ludie J. Kinkead, curator of The Filson Club, November 8, 1937.

the old frame was sent to the Smithsonian Institution and they wrote that it was English handmade, and dates before 1820." Mr. Hammond-Smith was at the same time working on Mr. Herbert L. Pratt's portrait of Boone, and no doubt made a careful comparison of the two.

Chester Harding is also credited with the Boone portrait owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, at Boston. Through the courtesy of that Society a photograph of this was obtained. It is 17 by 22 inches in size, and has been in possession of the Society since its presentation by George T. Bigelow on May 9, 1861.

Another portrait attributed to Chester Harding is owned by Mrs. F. R. Bissell of New York City, who says, "It has always been a tradition in the family that it was painted by Chester Harding and given to General Daniel Bissell by Boone himself, who was a personal friend of General Bissell. There is no date on it nor any signature. It measures nineteen by twenty-three inches." This portrait first hung in the old Bissell home in St. Louis county, and has been owned successively by several members of the family. Through the courtesy of Mrs. Bissell a photograph of this portrait was secured from the Frick Art Reference Library, with her permission to reproduce it. The Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, and Mrs. Champe C. Connor of Winchester, Virginia, assisted in locating this portrait.

A portrait said to be the work of Chester Harding was in possession of the late Mrs. John B. Riley of Plattsburg, New York, for several years, but its present location and ownership are unknown. Her daughter and residents of Plattsburg to whom an appeal was made for assistance were unable to trace this portrait. A photograph of it was obtained by The Filson Club, of Louisville, Kentucky, in 1919, which kindly furnished this Society with a print.

Mrs. Riley's statement to The Filson Club was as follows: "After the death of Dr. Andrew W. Riley, which occurred in Omaha in January 1907, his personal property including the painting of Daniel Boone, was sent to my husband, the late John B. Riley, of Plattsburg, N. Y. I have heard Mr. Riley say that his brother valued the painting very highly. As I

remember it, he said it was the first copy made of the original painting of Daniel Boone."

A full length portrait of Boone is owned by the Louisville Free Public Library, Louisville, Kentucky, which attributes it to Chester Harding. The portrait was presented by Mr. James Trabue, but no further historical details regarding it are known by that library. Through their courtesy a photograph of this was obtained from the Frick Art Reference Library.

John James Audubon, the naturalist, also painted Boone's portrait. Concerning their meeting one writer says, "Audubon met Boone in Kentucky and later made a bust portrait of him from memory, representing him in middle life."⁹ Another historian says, "There is in existence, however, a portrait made by Audubon, from memory—a charming picture, representing Boone in middle life."¹⁰ The same writer says that Boone and Audubon met in West Virginia.¹¹ Audubon himself wrote of his meeting with Boone but did not give the time or the place, and in this particular account, at least, made no reference to a portrait.¹²

The Audubon portrait of Boone owned by Mrs. Daniel R. Russell, of St. Louis, has been described as "The Lost Audubon," as its location has not been generally known until recently. Mrs. Russell gives the following information about it, "... the Boone portrait . . . is life size, and still in the plain, original frame measuring 20" x 23" (inside). The oval gilt mat and glass over it were added about forty years ago at the same time that my father, William Clark Kennerly, had it relined with canvas. It was originally painted in oils on heavy paper pasted tightly to wood, which began to split.

"Audubon was a friend and great admirer of Daniel Boone, and came to Missouri about a year before Boone died, expressly to see him. There he made a sketch of his subject on paper, which he carried home and developed into the oil

⁹Rothert, Otto A., "Chester Harding's Two Portraits of Daniel Boone," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (October, 1934), frontispiece.

¹⁰Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, p. 238.

¹¹Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, p. 235.

¹²Audubon, John James, *Delineations of American Scenery and Character*, pp. 111-116.

portrait. The cold, steel grey eyes are wonderful, and the flannel lining of his brown coat is still the most vivid red. He is supposed to have gotten that pigment from the Seminole Indians.

"Daniel Boone was no relation to my family, but his portrait came into its possession about 1830, ten years after Boone's death when his son, Nathan, paid a visit to my grandfather, James Kennerly, at St. Louis in his country home, Cote Plaquemine, situated at what is now Kennerly and Taylor Avenues. Nathan Boone was en route to visit his relatives at what our family records call 'his father's settlement on the Missouri river.' As he intended to finish his journey by boat James Kennerly bought the horse he had ridden from Kentucky, and Nathan presented him with the portrait which he had carried all that distance on horseback, no doubt intending it for his Missouri relations.

"Thus the portrait was called the 'lost Audubon' as he was known to have painted it. My father, a small boy at the time remembered it as always being in his home, and the horse called 'Old Boone', he told me, lived for many years on the place. Just before the Civil war, twenty years after the death of James Kennerly, one of the young slaves hoping it would result in a move into town, set fire to Cote Plaquemine and some of the rare old portraits were burned. Two were saved, a Gilbert Stuart of Gen. William Clark, that he had given to his sister-in-law, Mrs. James Kennerly, and the one of Daniel Boone which was taken to the home of Jefferson Kennerly Clark while the house was being rebuilt, and where Mrs. James Kennerly let it stay for a number of years, hanging in the room with all the historical mementoes of his father, General Clark.¹³

"I inherited the Stuart of the latter [General Clark] and the Audubon of Boone from my father. They hang together in my house. Seeing the color is very important in any description of the Boone portrait."

¹³In 1968 the late Lyman C. Draper, during an interview with Jefferson Clark and E. J. Glasgow in St. Louis, made notation of a Harding portrait of Boone then in possession of the family. Mrs. Russell, however, is certain that the reference was not to the present portrait in her collection.

Another portrait attributed to Audubon is owned by Mr. C. W. Lyon of New York City. It was formerly owned by Mr. J. K. Paulding and his sisters, also of New York, who secured it from the estate of their uncle, the late William Irving Paulding of Cole Spring, N. Y. The portrait was in the Paulding family for many years. After acquiring it Mr. Lyon had the portrait restored, and the reproduction accompanying this article shows it in its present state.

Mr. Lyon writes, "It has at some early date beyond the knowledge of the older members of the present Paulding family been relined or rather pasted down to a new canvas back. We are having it separated to see if there is any writing on the back of the old canvas and after that will reline and restore . . ." This has now been done, and no data was found. This portrait was in an elaborate frame which was probably made between 1840 and 1850, and which might have been designed by Audubon, according to Mr. Lyon.

"As for our attribution to Audubon," writes Mr. Lyon, "not until your letter did we know there was any record of Audubon having painted Boone, consequently I was not influenced by this fact. Some fifty years ago the writer studied ornithology under Dr. Woods of East Windsor, Conn., an own pupil of Audubon. For the past forty years have dealt in American portraits until I am considered somewhat of an expert. I have seen, examined and owned a number of his portraits authenticated by family connections and in buying this portrait of Boone I felt certain it was Audubon's hand. It has been shown to two recognized authorities, Russell W. Thorpe and Albert W. Rosenthal and without reserve both agree with me. The background is similar to that in a portrait by him of his own daughter, the touch and technique is his throughout. J. K. Paulding was his intimate friend, was interested in nature, which is shown by his having the portrait of Boone and the one by Chapman,¹⁴ also by his writings. Just when and where it was painted is not known,

¹⁴See the account following in regard to Chapman's engraving made from a Boone portrait owned in 1836 by J. K. Paulding, about which the Society wrote to the Paulding family and to Mr. Lyon.

but it looks like a life portrait and not one done from memory or based on Harding or others. Notice the hair in particular."

Thomas Sully, noted British-American portrait artist, painted a bust portrait of Daniel Boone which is oval shaped and 22 by 27 inches in size. It was been owned successively by several distinguished collectors, including the late Frank M. Etting of Philadelphia, John F. Braun of Merion, Pennsylvania, and the late Herschel V. Jones of Minneapolis, Minnesota. It is now in possession of the latter's son, Mr. Jefferson Jones, vice-president of the Journal Printing Company, of Minneapolis, and hangs in his residence at Interlachen Park, Hopkins, Minnesota. The accompanying reproduction of this portrait was obtained from the New York Public Library.

The portrait of Boone painted by William C. Allen in 1839 and presented to the State of Kentucky hangs in the Representative Hall of the Old State House, in the museum of the Kentucky State Historical Society. Mrs. Jouett Taylor Cannon, secretary of the Society, reports that the Kentucky Legislature on February 21, 1840, appropriated \$250 "to W. C. Allen for the portrait of Daniel Boone presented to the State." It is a full length, life size picture, and has just been restored. Through the courtesy of Mrs. Cannon and the Kentucky State Historical Society this portrait is reproduced.

The well known engraver, J. B. Longacre, who made the engraving of Daniel Boone from Harding's original for use in the 1835 edition of the *National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*, also made a sepia full-length portrait of Boone holding his gun, a tobacco plant in bloom at his feet. The original of this is only 1½ by 2½ inches in size, although it is on a paper about 3 by 6 inches bearing this note, "Daniel Boon, by J. B. Longacre." The owner of this original, Mrs. Barton Longacre Keen, of Annapolis, Maryland, kindly furnished data about it and gave permission to reproduce the portrait.

Mrs. Keen reports that the original was in Mr. Longacre's desk which was locked at the time of his death in 1869, and not opened until the death of his daughter, Mrs. John Foster Keen, in January 1906.

This portrait differs from the 1835 Longacre engraving of Boone, but has an interesting connection with Missouri. Except that the figure faces to the right instead of the left, it is identical in size and detail to an engraving of Boone which appeared on an 1837 series of Missouri State Bonds printed by Draper, Toppan, Longacre & Company, of Philadelphia and New York. The State Historical Society of Missouri has a file of these cancelled bonds bearing this engraving.

Georgetown College, at Georgetown, Kentucky, has a portrait of Boone which was painted by Reuben J. A. Macy, or Macey. This is a three by four foot bust portrait which hangs in the College library. Through the courtesy of the College a photograph of this painting was obtained from the Frick Art Reference Library. According to the latter the following inscription in red chalk was found on the back of the frame: "Presented to President Malcom, for the College, by the artist 1848, by Reuben J. A. Macy." A portrait of President Malcom was signed "R. J. A. Macey, Pinxt., Sept. 1848," indicating the different spelling of the artist's name. When a former library building was burned the Boone portrait was saved.

The second of the Boone portraits owned by The Filson Club is a copy of Judge Lafon Allen's portrait, which has already been described. It was copied while in the possession of the late Miss Mary Lafon for the late Colonel R. T. Durrett, but the artist's name is unknown. Officials of The Filson Club state that it is believed the copy was made either by Nicola Marschall or A. O. Revenaugh, and that inasmuch as Marschall made a similar copy for the Kentucky State Historical Society, at Frankfort, he probably made this one for Colonel Durrett. Following the latter's death this portrait was turned over to The Filson Club by Dr. William Durrett, his son. To differentiate it from their other copy it is known by The Filson Club as "The Boone With the Fur Collar."

Since the publication of the *National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans*, by Johnson, Fry & Co. in 1862, Alonzo Chappel's engraving now frequently referred to as "Daniel Boone and His Dog" has been well known. Printed below the

engraving is a line indicating that it was "from the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers," as were the other portraits reproduced in the two-volume set. Chappel was born during the year in which Boone died,¹⁵ so his painting was obviously a copy. It bears a marked resemblance to Harding's portrait, except for the costume and pose. The original cannot be located.

The Cincinnati *Family Magazine* of March 1836,¹⁶ contains John G. Chapman's drawing "Col. Daniel Boon, of Kentucky, in the Costume of Western Hunter. (The Portrait from a painting in possession of J. K. Paulding, Esq.)." William D. Redfield made the engraving. Mr. Paulding was a prominent American author and naval official who died in New York in 1860.¹⁷ The original portrait cannot be located, nor could it be identified by members of the Paulding family. As the 1836 engraving is different from the painting owned by the Paulding family so long, and now in possession of Mr. Lyon, it seems possible that there may have been a painting similar to it. Otherwise Chapman must have originated the costume and the pose, using the Audubon or some unknown portrait for his guide to facial expression. By 1836 Chapman had gained an international reputation with his paintings, copies of old masters, and wood engravings, so it is even possible that he made Mr. Paulding's original similar to the engraving.

A water color copy of Chapman's engraving was made by a Miss Chesney, and is now owned by the Kentucky State Historical Society, at Frankfort. Through the courtesy of that Society a photograph of the copy is reproduced.

Another picture of Boone was painted "by Y. W. Berry for James Hall, Esqr." according to a caption which appeared beneath an engraving made from it and used in the Cincinnati *Western Magazine*, Volume I, 1833, p. 95. The original painting cannot be located.

Many other paintings as well as engravings of Daniel Boone were made after his death in 1820. Typical of these

¹⁵Mallett's *Index of Artists*, (New York, 1935), p. 75.

¹⁶*Family Magazine*, (Cincinnati), Vol. I, No. 3, p. 81.

¹⁷*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIV, pp. 321-23.

are George Caleb Bingham's "Emigration of Daniel Boone," and W. Ranney's "Daniel Boone's First View of Kentucky." Such pictures, of course, are idealized and are based upon some earlier work such as those reproduced in the present compilation. As these are now collected and presented in a single group it is hoped they may be useful to future illustrators. By this time the exact and chronological history of many of these portraits has been lost, but such facts as are known have been generously contributed by the various owners and will be of interest to historians, artists, biographers, and the many admirers of Daniel Boone.

THE WAR OF 1812 ON THE MISSOURI FRONTIER

BY KATE L. GREGG

PART II

Descendants of early Missourians can delve in the war records of 1813 with mounting pride. The second year of the conflict moved like the first from spring dismay to late autumnal peace, with this difference, that a greater apprehension called forth a higher degree of frontier activity. Winchester's defeat, in addition to Hull's surrender and Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, quickened the British and Indian menace along the Mississippi. As it became evident how little protection could be expected from the Federal government, Missouri and Illinois laid their own plans for defense and carried them out.

The campaign for Federal aid was urged by excellent advocates: Governor Benjamin Howard and Edward Hempstead for Missouri and Governor Ninian Edwards and Shadrack Bond for Illinois. When the muddled, distracted, and divided state of the government is considered, it may well be ascribed an achievement that they secured permission for the West to help itself. Hempstead, on reaching the capital, found himself in strange cross-currents.

I have arrived here in time to witness the bold efforts of opposition against augmenting the army, but all will not do. The war will be prosecuted with vigor, and I am assured that our frontier particularly will have effective protection afforded it. The policy of being indulgent to the sons of the forest, who slaughter our citizens and commit every savage cruelty, is no longer advocated by any side, and is considered as the source of most of the misfortunes with which our territory has been visited. I am now clearly of opinion that we shall have a competent force not only for defence, but to chastise the Indians, in the spring.¹

The persistency with which Bond and Hempstead hammered away brought results at the end of five weeks.

¹*Missouri Gazette*, February 13, 1813. Extract of letter from the Hon. Edward Hempstead to the editor, dated Washington, D. C., January 7, 1813.

At length I have succeeded so far, after repeated representations to the Secretary of War, as to impress the imminent dangers to which our frontier has been and is exposed Altho it was thought by some to be wholly useless to attempt anything further on the subject I did not stop; and a bill has this day passed the house for raising ten companies of rangers for the defence of the N. W. frontier, it will undoubtedly pass the Senate, and be a law in a few days.²

This bill permitting the West to raise and equip more rangers for its own defense became a law on February 25, 1813.

Meanwhile, the Indian and British menace had crept closer. Alarming reports were coming in. Lagoterie, a trader of British sympathies, was distributing presents among the Indians a few miles from Fort Madison. A runner carrying an English belt of wampum had just passed through the villages. A heavy British force was stopped at Green Bay by the ice, but would head for Fort Madison as soon as the river opened. Christian Wilt heard that the English were at Prairie du Chien planning to move with a force of Indians against St. Louis: "we may have hard times here in the spring if no force is sent on by the government for the defence of the Territories."³ Samuel D. Solomon of St. Louis wrote William Clark in Fincastle, Virginia, that Maurice Blondeau, returned the previous day from Fort Madison, reported that the British had landed at Chicago and were collecting Indians for a descent upon St. Louis; Dickson was at Green Bay rallying the savages for the same purpose. And, "Nothing," Solomon commented, "has been done for the defence of this place."⁴

A week later, however, St. Louis started action with a general town meeting, Major William Christy presiding and William C. Carr acting as secretary. The committee appointed to draft plans for defense, four days later brought in a resolution: "that it is the unanimous opinion of this assembly

²*Missouri Gazette*, March 20, 1813. Extract of a letter from the Hon. Edward Hempstead, dated Washington, D. C., February 13, 1813.

³*Letter Book of Christian Wilt*, Letter No. 71: Christian Wilt, St. Louis, February 6, 1813, to his uncle. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

⁴*Voorhis Collection of Clark Mss.*: Letter from Samuel D. Solomon, St. Louis, February 6, 1813, to General Wm. Clark, Fincastle, Va. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

that the town of St. Louis ought to be fortified, or put in a state of defence, as speedily as practicable,"⁵ Seven citizens, to be known as "The Committee of Safety," were appointed to carry out the will of the meeting. For powder and flints they might rely on Mr. John Johnson's factory, which had been removed to St. Louis when the garrison burned his factory building to save it from falling into the hands of the Indians and endangering Fort Madison. As for other means of defense, Christian Wilt wrote:

I expect we shall have to dig trenches around it [St. Louis] we have a few pieces of cannon which are to be mounted & 3 or 4 Spanish Block-houses which will be put in Repair. It is said there are 500 men at Fort Massac intended for this place. I hope they may come on in time—with them we shall be able to resist the attack of the Indians, unaided by the British with artillery, provided the place is entrenched. If Harrison has been successful in taking Maldon, it will tend greatly to the safety of this country—but should he have met with the fate of Winchester, who out of 900 men lost all but 30 who returned to Harrison we may have hard times here.⁶

On February 27, Wilt wrote his brother Andrew that it had been determined that the town should be picketed. By March 6, Christian had learned that his quota was 276 feet to be fortified with pickets 10 feet long and 6 inches in diameter, costing about \$150. When news of Winchester's defeat filtered through to the West, the *Missouri Gazette* sounded a bugle note:

Let those who live in frontier positions build or repair their forts, have a good supply of ammunition and their arms in good order, let the planting be conducted by numbers in each field, with centinels; let the village inhabitants build in each a stockade for the women and children, and above all divide the men in companies or squads for frequent drilling and examination into the state of their arms and ammunition, let wholesome regulations be adopted for the punishment of neglect of duty, and the most exemplary punishment for a refusal to arm or the use of mutinous language. Let us not urge the want of power to enforce those regulations, the crisis calls for extraordinary measures⁷

⁵*Missouri Gazette*, February 20, 1813.

⁶*Letter Book of Christian Wilt*, Letter No. 73: St. Louis, February 20, 1813. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

⁷*Missouri Gazette*, February 20, 1813. Editorial.

The general muster of battalions was not held in the spring of 1813. "Threatened invasion of our settlements by the northern Indians requires other arrangements." But the volunteer companies of Captains Dodge, McNair, Callaway, Ashley, Young, Hughes, Millard, Ramsey, and Rankin were to muster on March 20 for inspection and hold themselves in readiness for actual service at a moment's warning.

When Frederick Bates and Major Chouteau visited Portage des Sioux on March 3 to see about the safety of the public stores, they heard that Mr. Pieper's son, who had gone to hunt horses in the neighborhood the preceding Monday, had not been seen since. Before they returned to St. Louis, they learned that he had been shot and scalped, presumably by three or four Pottowatomie lately noticed near the village.⁸ Cadet Chouteau told Christian Wilt that in an attack the Indians made a long time before, they had commenced just as now by picking off solitary citizens whenever they had an opportunity. They moved then as now in small war parties and did not make any concerted move until sometime in May.⁹ The situation was pretty well summed up in a letter of Governor Edwards to Governor Shelby of Kentucky:

The Indians appear to be upon the frontiers everywhere. I have raised, & have in active service, eight volunteer companies from the local militia; notwithstanding which, the savages have committed murders within bounds of every regiment of this territory.¹⁰

So ran truth and rumor. The Indians were at Green Bay; they were assembling at Chicago; they were congregating at Prairie du Chien; they were waiting for ammunition; they were waiting for the ice to melt; they were delaying only until the dark of the moon; they were waiting for the English leaders. The Indian scare ran like an epidemic along the frontier during the early months of 1813, but by the end of March was somewhat abating. By that time plans for de-

⁸*Missouri Gazette*, March 6, 1813.

⁹*Letter Book of Christian Wilt*, Letter No. 74: St. Louis, March 6, 1813. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

¹⁰*The Reporter* (Lexington, Ky.), May 1, 1813. Letter from Gov. Ninian Edwards to Gov. Shelby of Kentucky, dated Kaskaskia, Illinois, March 26, 1813. (Am. Antiq. Soc.)

fense were well under way. Physical activity was easing the psychological strain.

On March 30, Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Bissell wrote the secretary of war that he had made and was making the best disposition he could of the feeble means under his control. On March 12 he had detached a sergeant and twelve men with a boat loaded with provisions to Forts Mason and Madison, the reinforcement to remain at the latter. On the 28th he had detached one subaltern and forty men of Captain Desha's Company of the 24th Infantry, to ascend the Mississippi in a fortified boat commanded by Captain Stark, to reconnoitre the shores and islands between Bellefontaine and Fort Madison, and to leave a non-commissioned officer and six men at Fort Mason if it seemed to need a re-inforcement. The remainder he was to take on to Fort Madison, "which Post he was ordered to defend to the utmost extremity." He reported that he had in readiness another fortified boat, which he would place in the Mississippi near the Illinois or in the mouth of the Illinois, "near which place, I shall erect a Block house." He had instructed commanding officers to fortify the boat at Fort Mason and the one at Fort Madison. "Those kinds of Boats, strike a great Terror on our Savage Enemies, as I am informed, in fact they are in my Opinion formidable Machines of Defence."¹¹

Colonel Bissell, soon after March 30 had had a conference with Governor Howard, lately returned from Kentucky. They had agreed that the contemplated blockhouse ought to be at Portage des Sioux, and on a visit there on April 8th had selected a site for it a short distance below the village. On the same day they decided that a battery should be erected on an island one half mile below the contemplated blockhouse. The two fortifications would, Bissell thought, successfully defend the pass of the river. He ordered Captain Desha, a subaltern and fifty-one men, protected by a fortified boat and a piece of ordnance, to begin immediate construction of the blockhouse. Governor Howard ordered militia, commanded by Major James Morrison and protected by another gunboat,

¹¹*Bissell Papers*: Letter from Lieut. Col. Daniel Bissell to the Secretary of War, dated Bellefontaine, March 30, 1813. (From photostat, Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

to begin work on the battery. At the same time he ordered mounted riflemen to reconnoitre and scout the country to prevent any disastrous surprise. On April 11, Captain David Musick arrived at Portage from Cap au Gris with thirty-two men; on April 13, Captain Rankin with his troop of cavalry; on April 14, Captain Robert Spenser with fifty-two men and Captain James Musick with a company of twenty-four.¹²

In a letter from Portage des Sioux, dated April 21, 1813, Lieutenant Colonel Bissell wrote Major James Morrison how the battery should be constructed.

I would recommend that the Battery which his Excellency Governor Howard has ordered raised on the Island below this, by the militia under your command be built agreeably to the plan shown you this morning, a copy of which I will furnish you; the log work of it should be strongly put together, and closely notched, and where unavoidably there is cracks, have them well chinked; and particular care must be observed to use the Fascines or Brush, and the earth which you fill in with be well rammed or pounded down or the heavy rains will wash and injure the works; the Battery to be at least 4½ or 5 feet thick and about 7 feet high; the logs prepared for the Port Holes have small arms, you can place as you find will best enable the men to sight and fire with the best possible effect. The picketing which you close the rear of your work with I would recommend not to have less than 8 feet out of the ground¹³

Two weeks' work by the companies of Captain James Musick and Captain Robert Spenser made the battery ready for the mounting of guns. On May 10, morning orders to Captain Charles Lucas of the St. Louis Volunteer Artillery ran as follows:

Capt. Lucas will this morning commence moving his company and his six four & two pounders out to the island, he will encamp his command on the west bank of the island after which he will detail a sergeant and ten men daily until the battery is put in a state of defence that he can play his artillery with some certainty on the enemy should they come by way of the river he had best send the perogue up to Musick's old camp for the clapboards which is there he will have the two pounder mounted

¹²*Frederick Bates Papers*, 1812-13 Folder, Provision returns. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

¹³*Folio 27, Bissell Mss.*: Letter from Lieut. Col. Daniel Bissell to Maj. James Morrison, dated Portage des Sioux, April 21, 1813. (St. Louis Mercantile Library.)

as soon as possible he will draw on the contractor for Extra whiskey for those men on fatigue duty.¹⁴

All told, it took 1,134 gills of whiskey to build Fort Lookout and to mount the guns, all of it dealt out to the companies of Captains Musick, Spenser, and Lucas.

Portage was a center of military activity through the rest of the war. The recommendation of Colonel Bissell that the defense lines in the West be shortened by evacuation of Fort Mason was soon carried out. Lieutenant John Campbell and his command which had been at Fort Mason ever since they had helped build it in March of 1812, were assigned to one of the armed boats. Pretty nearly all the companies in service came to know Portage des Sioux very well. Some were stationed there for defense, some coming and going on patrol, or passing through to service on the Cuivre or in Illinois. Captain Conway's Company of forty-five mounted riflemen patrolled through April, 1813, a beat from Fort Cuivre to St. Charles to Portage and return. The Ste. Genevieve cavalry, commanded by Captain John Scott, patrolled from Camp Dodge to Portage during the last two weeks of April, but during the first fortnight of May operated as spies and rangers—heavy fatigue that merited extra rations of strong whiskey. The company of infantry under command of Captain Ashley was on fatigue duty in St. Louis from April 20-30, probably repairing the old Spanish forts—the picketing project was dropped—but from the end of the month until May 17 was on the Cuivre. Companies whose provision returns were from Portage during all or part of April were commanded by Captains Conway, David Musick, Rankin, Scott, Callaway, Spenser, James Musick, Van Bibber, Ashley, and Lucas. Companies at Portage in May were those of Captains McNair, Scott, Wm. Smith, Lucas, Callaway, and Ashley. The company of Captain Desha made Portage its headquarters; the company of Captain William Smith manned one of the gunboats. As Captain Charles Lucas wrote

¹⁴*War of 1812 Folder*: Letter from Second Lieut. F. Geiser to Capt. Charles Lucas, dated Camp Portage des Sioux, May 10, 1813. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

his father, "Thair are here several companies towit Musick's, McNair's, Desha's and others—the village is in a bustle."

Captain Nathan Boone and his company of rangers were co-operating with Captain Whitesides in Illinois, patrolling at least a day's journey outside the settlements. Spies scouted the country outside the patrol of the rangers. Vouchers in the War Department reveal that P. K. Robbins was on spy duty from April 17 to April 27; James Callaway, April 17 to April 26; Isaac Van Bibber and Matthew Kerr, each ten days in April; William McKinney, twenty-three days in April; Robert Burns and John Riffle, sixteen days; Jacob Darst, seven and a half days and Daniel Morgan Boone, twenty-one days. Forty-three days of spy service accredited to Isaac Van Bibber on May 1st are probably a credit for the men he commanded. A provision return from St. Charles, April 17-28, is for Van Bibber's company of six.¹⁵

June of 1813 was quiet. Perhaps, commented the *Gazette*, the tranquillity that precedes the storm. At any rate the Mississippi frontier had earned its peace and was prepared for the worst. Between February 6, 1813, when Samuel D. Solomon had written, "Nothing has been done for the defence of this place" [St. Louis] and June 19, 1813, when Christian Wilt wrote "everything is done which can ensure protection," there had been an unbelievable activity in patrolling and fortifying the shortened lines.

Evacuation of Fort Osage had waited through the winter of 1812-13 upon the return of Governor Howard from Kentucky and the going out of ice in the Missouri. The order for its abandonment must have been decided upon in the first Bissell-Howard conference soon after March 30th. At any rate, George C. Sibley, factor at Fort Osage, was packing his goods by April 16, for on that date he paid Stark Simonds \$5 for cooping 25 tierces and finding a great number of hoops.¹⁶ The date for evacuation of the fort can be pretty definitely fixed. Sibley wrote his brother, Samuel Hopkins Sibley, on September 25, 1813, "early in last June Ft. Osage was evacuat-

¹⁵Frederick Bates Papers, 1812-13 Folder; and War of 1812 Folder: Photostated Vouchers from Retired Files, War Dept. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

¹⁶Indian Trade Files, Fort Osage Folder, Indian Dept., Washington, D. C.

ed and Factory broke up—on the 13th June we all reached St. Louis bag and baggage."¹⁷

The lull in Indian activity through June was but an effective pause preceding two fine crescendos—one General Howard's expedition through the Indian country of Illinois and the establishment of Fort Clark on Lake Peoria; and the other the evacuation of Fort Madison. Before the one, redskins scattered as chaff before a good breeze; and in the other white men escaped their tomahawks as by a miracle.

An encounter of rangers with Indians—the most fatal of any in the war up to this time—took place on July 4-5. Eleven rangers near Fort Mason were attacked by an equal number of Winnebagoes, followed twenty-five miles and attacked again the next day. Before the affair was over one ranger had been killed outright and three others had met with fatal wounds. How many Winnebago bit the dust in this fierce encounter, fought out finally in a space twenty feet square, was a question. Two were left on the field; and it was stated by a Sac that there was plenty of blood on the trail of their retreat.¹⁸

Counter-attack on the Indians began on July 8th. On that date, General Howard sent an armed boat with thirty-nine regulars, commanded by Lieutenant Campbell, up the Illinois to meet and repel Indians rumored to be descending the river to attack the settlements. On the 15th, when the gunboat was eighty miles from Portage, there was a heavy fire from shore, which was promptly returned. Lieutenant Campbell went on up the river in search of Indian canoes, but finding none, returned below the site of his first engagement, where the Indians attacked again "with increased fury." Musketry and swivel fire, however, soon put them to flight, along with fifteen canoes full of savages who had come to their assistance. A detachment of rangers sent in the direction of Sangamon to cut off retreat of the Indians cooperated with Lieutenant Campbell on this offensive. This small expedition seems to have been a success. At any rate the Indians did

¹⁷*Sibley Mss.*, Vol. II: Letter from George C. Sibley, On Board the Osage Factor lying at the Mouth of the Missouri, September 25, 1813, to his brother, Samuel H. Sibley, Nachitoches, La. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

¹⁸*Missouri Gazette*, July 10 and July 17, 1813.

not reach the Mississippi at this time by the Illinois river route.¹⁹

All through July and August preparations went on for a proper chastisement of the savages in the fall. Soon after General William Clark became territorial governor on July 1, 1813, he asked all Indian agents and factors on the Missouri-Mississippi frontier for a thorough report covering every kind of public property in possession of the agent or factor; the disposition, situation, and number of Indians within the agency, with a statement as to which were friendly, which likely to join the enemy, and which were already at war with the Americans; the number of citizens killed or taken prisoner, property taken with place of all such murders and depredations since April 1, 1810; and lastly, a list of Indian claims against the United States. These extended reports coming in from Sibley, Chouteau, Johnson, Boilvin, Blondeau, and Forsyth became a proper basis for elimination of at least part of the rumors. Construction in St. Louis of the fourth and last of the authorized gunboats was pushed along through August and September. Clark explained to the secretary of war:

My reasons for building one of the armed gunboats at this place was as well that the hostile Indians should hear of it, and magnify its size and importance (which I understand they have) as to have one of the boats built under my eye of such construction and size as to completely answer the service intended.²⁰

In these hours of heavy demand for equipment, capable young men like Christian Wilt could sometimes drive clever bargains. On September 4, he reported to his uncle that he had sold the "Dolphin", "old, rotten and dangerous" for \$600; "boats are very scarce here owing to the public buying up all boats for the expedition." Alexander McNair, sutler to three companies of rangers—very good business too—he had had a turnover of \$4,000 in two months' time—sold his share of the enterprise to Christian Wilt for \$800. McNair

¹⁹*Missouri Gazette*, July 24, 1813.

²⁰*Voorhis Collection of Clark Mss.*, Folder 1811-18: Letter from Wm. Clark to the Secretary of War, dated St. Louis, September 12, 1813. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.) Copy of extract from letter in State Dept., Bureau of Archives and Indexes, Vol. 41.

expected to go with the expedition and was awaiting his appointment as colonel. During August, George C. Sibley did a lively business with the factory goods which he had brought down the river.²¹

Aug. 16	1 Sword to Genl. Howard.....	\$ 9
" 26	1 Rifle to Capt. N. Boone.....	25
" "	1 Sword \$9, 1 pr. Pistols \$12, to Govr. Clark.....	\$21
" "	1 Sword \$9 to Major McFarlane.....	\$ 9
" 28	1 Pr. Pistols to Col. Delauney.....	12
" "	1 Frying pan to Major Wilson.....	1.75
" "	1 Pair Patent Blankets to Genl. Howard.....	10
Sept. 3	Sold Maj. Berry \$496 worth of 100 Blankets, 11 lbs powder by request of Genl. Howard for use of the Army.	
" 4	2 small 2½pt. Bkts. Genl. Howard @\$6.50.....	\$13
" "	1 pr. Pistols to N. Boilvin.....	12.
" 6	6 qrs. paper \$3, 1 Sword \$9, 1 pr Pistols \$12 to Mr. Luttig.....	24
" 10	1 pr Patent Blankets to Gov. Clark.....	10
" "	" Do. to Mr. R. Lewis.....	5

There can be little doubt that the Indian scare of August 3 accelerated the preparations for the expedition. On that night, an express brought General Howard, then in St. Charles, news that nine or ten men and boys had been attacked by a party of Indians seven miles above Fort Howard. A Mr. Allen had escaped to the fort, but the fate of the rest was unknown.

The General immediately sent an express to Camp Defiance with orders for Capt. Boone's company to pursue the enemy, also orders for the movement of a detachment under command of Capt. Desha from Portage des Sioux up the Illinois in an armed boat.²²

A letter the next day from Major Clemson to General Howard gave more details:

An express has this moment arrived from Musicks Camp and gives the following report, that four men and two or 3 boys were out from the Fort Cuivre, say between two and three miles, sowing turnips, when a party

²¹*Indian Trade Files*, Fort Osage Folder, Sibley's Cashbook, Indian Dept., Washington, D. C.

²²*The Reporter* (Lexington, Ky.), August 23, 1813. (Am. Antiq. Soc.)

of six Indians painted white (supposed to be Sacks) advanced to within fifteen or twenty yards of them, the party considering them friendly Indians kept at their work, and when at that distance commenced a fire on them, which killed one man and wounded another. Six of Capt. Musick's company that was left at his camp, went out to the ground of attack last evening, and found the body of the man killed, which had been scalped, and brought in the one wounded; he had concealed himself with the boys in a hollow log, which the Indians had passed several times during the massacre. The whole had got into the Fort last night, and the Indians had made up the Mississippi, being trailed three or four miles in that direction.²³

Four days later Christian Wilt was sure that 2,000 Indians had crossed the Mississippi at Cap au Gris. General Howard had given orders for all the militia to march immediately; "have I leisure, I shall go myself & join them. Should like to get a fair shot at an Indian—shall most probably go tomorrow morning." The *Missouri Gazette* was up to the minute:

We stop the press to inform our fellow citizens below, that a large body of Indians, Chipeways, Ottoways, Falls, Winnebagoes, Pottowatomies and Kickapoos, about 5 or 600 (report says 3000!) have broke into the county of St. Charles. The Rangers have lost a few men in the first attack. —Every man knows his duty—every generous soul will fly to the post of danger.²⁴

But by the time a week had rolled by Christian Wilt along with the rest of St. Louis had to admit that the rumor had slight foundation. Somebody who had been at Musick's Camp when an express came in telling of three or four fresh trails of three or four savages had gone to Fort Howard with the wild report that 3,000 were on the way.

The expedition of General Howard had to be well thought out. As Indians could move southward on the Mississippi or across it to fall upon the Missouri frontier if he moved up the Illinois, so they could move down the latter from Peoria and fall upon both Illinois and Missouri settlements if he directed his campaign against the northern Indians. Secrecy and good scouting service were necessary. About the middle of August he sent Captain Nathan Boone with sixteen picked

²³The Reporter, August 23, 1813. Extract of letter from Maj. Clemson to General Howard, dated Camp Defiance, County of St. Charles, August 3, 1813.

²⁴Missouri Gazette, August 7, 1813.

men to reconnoitre the region between the Illinois and the Mississippi north of Fort Mason. Since the vouchers for spy service in August, 1813, read for five days' service beginning August 12, it is likely that the attack of August 15 on Boone's party occurred on their fourth night out. Nathan Boone, however, told Dr. Lyman Draper that the attack occurred on their second night. Fresh Indian signs had prompted Boone to post a double line of sentries. When the attack came late in the night, his men were ready to play the game according to the Indian rules. Outnumbered three to one, they took shelter behind trees and picked off redskins in the light of the fire as their wet powder permitted. Under shelter of the woods and darkness Boone led his men back to safety—one man wounded in the hand his only casualty. Four of the picked men in this group were Captain James Callaway, P. K. Robbins, John Baldridge, and John Wheldon. For service such as this they each drew \$2 a day.²⁵

The strategy of General Howard's campaign is worth notice. The Second Regiment, which for some time had been encamped on the Illinois side, ranging the country in all directions, moved under command of Colonel Benj. Stephenson up the east side of the Mississippi, crossed the Illinois about three miles from its mouth, and traversed the dangerous section between the two rivers to a point nearly opposite Fort Madison. Parties of Indians discovered were pursued and put to flight. Meanwhile, General Howard, who had left Portage des Sioux on September 10 with the mounted troops, and Colonel Alexander McNair in command of the First Regiment, moved up the west side of the Mississippi to Christy's Creek. "The first regiment is now in my view crossing the Mississippi," wrote Howard on September 16 to Governor Clark, "tonight or in the morning a junction of regiments will be formed."²⁶ At the same time armed boats, manned by regulars of the 24th Infantry under command of Lieutenant Colonel Nicholas, moved up the Illinois. Lest

²⁵ *War of 1812 Folder*: Photostated Vouchers from Retired Files of War Dept. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

²⁶ *Missouri Gazette*, October 2, 1813. Letter from General Benj. Howard to Gov. Wm. Clark, dated Ramsey's Creek, September 16, 1813.

any small party of Indians should have eluded the wide spread net, General Howard sent expresses to Missouri settlements between Cap au Gris and the Loutre, and to Illinois settlements on Sugar Creek and Shoal Creek warning them to be especially vigilant.

After a twelve days' march toward the southeast, the troops on the evening of the 28th came to the Illinois a little below the old Peoria village. Colonel Nicholas, whose gunboat descended to Howard's camp that evening, told of an attack the previous day when he had begun construction of the fort; "the colonel gave them a taste of his grapes and sent them whooping and yelling to their woods again with loss." They were supposed to have retreated to Gomo's Village at the head of the lake, but when Howard's force visited it the next day, not an Indian was in sight. They had taken to water up the Illinois. After burning Gomo's town and two others, the troops after two nights out returned to help the regulars in construction of Fort Clark. "With infinite labour we cut, hauled and rafted the necessary timbers across the Lake, and the Fort was in a complete state of defence at the end of 12 days."²⁷ It had been christened on September 23. A letter to Governor Clark tells of the ceremony:

Last evening a brass six pounder was mounted and fired from one of the Block houses, and the fort named CLARK in honor of George Rogers Clark, as due to the veteran who traversed this territory when almost unknown to any American.²⁸

While the fort was under construction, General Howard ordered Major Christy to ascend the Illinois with two armed boats to the Vermillion above the Rapids to discover whether the enemy had formed any new towns. Nothing was discovered; the Indians were fleeing in terror. At the same time, Major Nathan Boone in command of a hundred men had gone to reconnoitre the country in the direction of Rock River—some say to search out a route for a continuance of the expedition. He found the villages on the Maquoine deserted.

²⁷*Missouri Gazette*, November 6, 1813. Extract of letter from a gentleman in the army to a friend in St. Louis, dated Camp Russell, October 22, 1813.

²⁸*Missouri Gazette*, October 2, 1813. Extract from letter to Gov. Wm. Clark, dated Peoria, September 24, 1813.

They both [Major Christy and Major Boone] executed their commissions in the course of five or six days, in a manner highly honorable to themselves and the army, and reported that nothing was to be seen but additional proof of the terror with which the enemy had fled at our approach.²⁹

On account of the excessively cold weather General Howard could not continue his campaign. The troops, not equipped for such an unusual season, would have suffered severely; their horses were already well nigh exhausted. The army left Fort Clark on October 15 and arrived at Camp Russell on the evening of the 21st, well pleased with themselves and their commander.

Simultaneously with Howard's expedition there was carried out another piece of strategy, which at the time seemed very favorable—the removal of the friendly Sac and Fox from their old village on the Mississippi to winter quarters on the south side of the Missouri in what is now Moniteau county. There they might have the factory and blacksmith which they claimed under the treaty of 1804, enjoy the hunting grounds of the Osages, and be outside the influence of British agents and the hostile Indians. Governor William Clark and his Indian agents had moved toward this desirable end from the beginning of the war. The seven-months junketing tour to Washington for chiefs and warriors in 1812, several long-winded councils in St. Louis in 1813, and three or four councils conducted by Boilvin and Johnson in the same year in the villages of the Sac and Fox—all moved toward the colorful pageant that might have been seen at Portage des Sioux on the twenty-sixth of September. One hundred and fifty-five canoes of Sacs and Foxes had arrived for a final council with Red Head. Lest, once they were started down the Mississippi, they should all land in St. Louis, Boilvin had met them at Cap au Gris and personally steered them toward the camp site at Portage. Beef and pork, salt and flour—in hundreds of pounds—spoke an understandable language. In the grand council with Clark on September 28, they agreed to live in peace

²⁹*Missouri Gazette*, November 6, 1813. Extract of letter from a gentleman in the army to a friend in St. Louis, dated Camp Russell, October 22, 1813.

near their ancient enemies the Osage; and on the morning of the 30th they were on their way up the Missouri. John Luttig was waiting for them at St. Charles to turn over corn that he had bought from Francois Duquette at what he considered a scandalous figure—25 cents an Indian ration. He thought he ought not to pay it.³⁰ The *Missouri Gazette*, no more clairvoyant than Clark, thought the move admirable.

The plan of detaching the Sacs and Foxes from the Mississippi and from the neighboring hostile bands (who infest its banks) is wise, and will no doubt lead to fortunate results.³¹

As before noted, evacuation of Fort Osage had depended somewhat on making arrangements with the Osages for the payment of their annuities, and maintenance of the factory and blacksmith service due them by the treaty of 1808. Keeping peace with the Osages was important. George C. Sibley wrote to Governor Clark on July 9, 1813:

I think their Steady adherence to us entitles them to every accommodation that we can conveniently afford them—and independent of the obligations under which the Treaty lays us toward them, I think it is our best policy to keep up the influence of Trade over them, by means of which they may be Retained as friends and kept out of the reach of the intrigues of the Hostile Indians & British agents.³²

He alluded to the \$20,000 worth of Indian goods he had on hand and offered to cooperate in any plan Clark could suggest for re-establishing the Osage factory.

Decision to establish a factory at Arrow Rock for the Osages seems to have been made about the same time that the government decided to settle John Johnson in a factory on Little Moniteau Creek for the benefit of the Sac and Fox. On August 28, Sibley was making his first move toward getting together his military armament; he purchased one large blunderbuss from William Christy for \$20. On September 2, he bought another from Etienne Daout for \$5.50; on September

³⁰ Voorhis Collection of Clark Mss.: Letter from John Luttig to Gov. Wm. Clark, dated St. Charles, September 30, 1813. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

³¹ *Missouri Gazette*, October 2, 1813.

³² Sibley Mss., Vol. I: Letter from George C. Sibley to Gov. Wm. Clark, dated St. Louis, July 9, 1813. (Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

4, a mounted swivel from Nicholas Boilvin; and on September 12, he bought a brass barrelled blunderbuss from William Clark for \$16. The "Osage Factor" set off up the Mississippi on September 24, but was detained at the mouth of the Missouri until a storm should pass.

There is a complete description of the factory Sibley erected at Arrow Rock in his inventory of December 31, 1813.³³ It was a two-story blockhouse, 30 feet long and 20 feet wide, built of large cottonwood logs, roofed with oak slabs well secured by spiked-on hickory splits, and armed with one swivel and three blunderbusses. There was, Sibley reported, plenty of room for the goods, for trading, and for fighting. In addition, a line of double log huts, similar in materials and in construction to the blockhouse, housed Sibley, his servant, the interpreter Antoine Burda, and the five hired men who constituted the garrison. By November 18, some of the goods which had been stored with John Busby for better protection than that afforded by the boat, could be removed to their proper storage in the blockhouse. Sibley was ready for trade and the winter. By the end of the quarter he had done \$491.21½ worth of business. Governor Clark on December 13 reported to the Superintendent of Indian Trade, "I heard from Mr. Sibley and from Mr. Johnson a few days ago, they are both snugly fixed to do a Brisk business to the Satisfaction of the Indians with whom they trade."³⁴

The evacuation of Fort Madison on September 3 was well obscured by Howard's expedition, the transfer of the friendly Sac and Fox, and the glorious tidings coming from the Great Lakes. The *Missouri Gazette* did not even allude to the loss of this post until November 20, when it commented that St. Louis had been agitated for eight or ten days by its evacuation. "We have not heard the particulars of this extraordinary affair, more than that the contractor had failed in furnishing the post with provisions."³⁵ Lieutenant Thomas Hamilton's letter of July 18, 1813, to Colonel Daniel Bissell

³³*Retired Files*, Arrow Rock Folder, Inventory dated December 31, 1813, Indian Dept., Washington, D. C.

³⁴Letter from Wm. Clark, dated St. Louis, December 13, 1813, to John Mason, Supt. of Indian Trade. (Photostat, Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.)

³⁵*Missouri Gazette*, November 22, 1813.

certainly should have prepared his superiors for eventualities. Besieged for four days from July 5 to 9, and attacked again with remarkable fury on July 16, with the loss of the small blockhouse and four men, Hamilton felt himself near the end of his endurance. Not a soldier could show his face outside the fort; there was no fire-wood—he might have to burn some of the fine mouldings—provisions were very low; and he needed shells. His men, he said, were harnessed up night and day and had to be constantly on the watch.

If I do not hear from you by the 20th of August and the Indians continue to harass me in the manner they appear determined to do, I do not know but I will take the responsibility on myself, that is if they will permit me to go away. It is impossible for us to do duty long in the manner that I have adopted.³⁶

One more communication he must have sent, for Louis Liberge of Portage des Sioux received from William Clark on September 3 three dollars for running express with letters to the governor concerning attack on Fort Madison.³⁷ This was more than likely another expression of Hamilton's determination to abandon his impossible position. With only two alternatives, surrender or evacuation to choose from, he chose the one that might bring them off alive. During the night of September 3, his men dug a trench from the south-east blockhouse to the river, crept on hands and knees to the boats, and as they rowed out into the river, saw the fort burst into myriad flames.

Every military person who had viewed Fort Madison had deemed its position impossible. Hills overlooking the site permitted Indians to cover the parade grounds with rifle fire, and ravines enabled them to steal unseen within a few hundred yards of the pickets. In the opinion of General Howard it was a post badly situated. A better site might have been chosen either to the north or the south. But since its evacuation early in 1813 might add confidence to invasion of the savages and lose to American forces their only remaining source for

³⁶"Fort Madison," in *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. III, No. 2 (July, 1897), pp. 97-110. To this excellent article I am deeply indebted for details that could be obtained only in the War Department at Washington, D. C.

³⁷Photostat in Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

information on Indian intentions, it was decided to hold it as long as possible. That Lieutenants Hamilton and Vasquez were able to hold it as long as they did and lead their men off in safety at the last is one of the military miracles of 1813.

The abandonment and destruction of Fort Madison were more than balanced by the good news from the eastern front. Perry's victory of September 10 was celebrated weeks later in St. Louis with a general illumination and "to heighten the sport," wrote Christian Wilt, "we drew a canoe on fire thro the streets."²⁸

The success of the gallant Perry and the subsequent reduction of the British Posts on the Upper Lakes, has spread a blaze of joy among all classes on both sides of the Mississippi. The peaceful pursuits of agriculture will now be followed without apprehension of savage surprise, and our frontier valley's [sic] will again smile with weavay corn.²⁹

On October 16, General William Henry Harrison was able to declare that an armistice had been arranged between American forces and the Miami, Pottowatomie, Eel River Miami, Weas, Ottoway, Chippeway, and Wyandotte tribes. They had furnished hostages, promised to give up all prisoners, and to raise the hatchet against Indians who were hostile to the Americans. Someone who signed himself "An Old Man" addressed President Madison through the columns of the *Missouri Gazette*, December 11, 1813, with a recommendation that Governor William Clark and Colonel Auguste Chouteau would be suitable commissioners to treat with the Indians in the Mississippi-Missouri country. The end of the war seemed to be in sight at the end of 1813.

(To be continued)

²⁸Letter Book of Christian Wilt, Letter No. 23: From Christian Wilt to his brother, Andrew, dated St. Louis, October 2, 1813.

²⁹*Missouri Gazette*, November 27, 1813.

LETTERS OF GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM
TO JAMES S. ROLLINS

EDITED BY C. B. ROLLINS

PART VI

LETTERS: DECEMBER 9, 1871—SEPTEMBER 28, 1873

Kansas City Dec 9 1871

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir,

Your favor of yesterday reached me this morning. I regret to hear of the continued illness of our Cousin Sallie but sincerely trust that the care and comfort of home will soon give her relief. I hear nothing from Sartain and do not know what to make of his protracted delay and continued silence. I have written to him twice since I saw you urging him to let me know, if possible the exact condition of the work, and when I might certainly expect it, that I might make my arrangements accordingly, but though weeks have passed since I wrote, I get nothing further from him. Can it be possible that he is tampered with? I know nothing of his politics, and as Ewing has learned through his friends, that the work is being executed by Sartain, it is just beginning to be a slight suspicion in my mind that he may have stronger inducements to destroy the plate than to complete it.¹ You saw the last letter he wrote, in which he stated that the plate would be entirely complete in four or five days. That was in October, and nothing since can be had from him. If I do not hear from him in the course of a week, I think I had better go to Philadelphia and see what he has done, and if the engraving should be nearly done, wait for it and watch it, and if not, take one of the paintings and go to work

¹This was an unjust and unfortunate suspicion on the part of Bingham. (See: *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1, October, 1938, p. 65, n. 23; p. 76, n. 34.)

in getting subscribers by exhibiting it, as I did in the case of the "County Election. I am very much pleased with Browns message. I think it will elicit more attention than Grants, at least it ought to. I have just requested the Photographer to send you a doz. copies of your portrait, He had just forwarded you a doz copies to Columbia, more hereafter. Let me hear from you on receipt of this

Yours

G. C. Bingham

[*Postscript written in margin*]

P S Rollins has finished his *Constitution*² I instructed the Photographer as to the dark tone of your prints we are all well

Philadelphia Dec 24th 1871

Maj. J. S. Rollins

My dear sir

I informed you in my last that I would start for this City in a few days to urge Sartain to the speedy completion of our Engraving.³

I arrived safely in this city night before last, and am, at this writing, in Sartains Studio, he working on our plate but a few feet from me. He thinks he will have it completed in about two weeks, but if I were not here I think it likely his weeks would go into months, as there are continual calls upon him for other work. But I will try to keep him at ours, and if I succeed, I think two weeks time will nearly complete it. The plate is in a very good condition at present, and I think it will require very little correction from me. The work to be done is entirely in the finishing. I think the print will

²Bingham's son Rollins was a very precocious youth. When he was twelve years old he wrote an article on the Constitution of the State of Missouri which was a remarkable paper for a boy of that age. He also wrote an article about this time describing the sack of Lawrence, Kansas, by Quantrill, which he illustrated and of which Bingham was quite proud.

³Bingham speaks of "our engraving," as my father and Mr. R. B. Price had acquired an interest in it, having advanced the \$5,000 for the cost of engraving it.

make an imposing picture. Sartain has insisted on my stayin with him at his residence while here, and I have accepted his hospitality not only because it was tendered so pressingly that I could not refuse it, but because it necessarily puts me with him, and thus enables me constantly to press the completion of our work, to the exclusion of other demands made upon him. As I suppose you have adjourned our Legislature during the holidays I address this to you at Columbia. Please give our friend Price the information it affords as to our Engraving. I have informed Sartain that as soon as our work was entirely and satisfactorily completed a check would be forwarded to him for the amount due. I think the sales of the print will soon refund the cost.⁴

As Sartain is present I have just asked him if he needed part of the payment at present. He answers that a check for one thousand dollars would be of immediate service to him. As the plate is nearly done, and his contract with us entitles him to half pay when the plate is half completed, please enclose a check to me, in his favor, for this amount. Direct your letters to me to the care of John Sartain, Engraver, 728 Sansom Street Philadelphia. My love to cousin Mary and all.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

Philadelphia Jan. 7. 1872

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

Your favor of Jan 1st came to hand day before yesterday. I endorsed the Check to Sartain and took his receipt therefor. I am constantly with him, and he works unremittingly on the plate, but I think it will yet require at least two weeks time to complete it, although when I came here, he thought he

⁴The anticipated sales of the engraving did not refund the cost. My father purchased Mr. Price's interest and the picture became his property. He gave it to my brother, George Bingham Rollins, deceased, Bingham's namesake, whose heirs now own it.

would have it finished by this time. I will remain with him until the work is done as, should I leave, I can have no assurance that it would not be further postponed.

Write to me as soon as you receive this, and in your letter say as follows—"It is much to be regretted that Mr Sartain did not finish the plate within or near the time specified in his contract, as the best time for selling the print is slipping away and you have doubtless lost thousands of dollars which you would have secured, had the print been ready early last fall." This I will read to him that it may have its proper effect in confining him to our work. He seems quite anxious to engrave my picture of "Washington Crossing the Delaware" which is now finished and of which I gave him a photograph.⁵ He thinks it would find a large sale here and in New York, and is disposed to engrave it as a partnership matter or a half interest in the copyright. He thinks it far superior to Leuitzes picture of the same subject.

I am very sorry to hear that our Cousin Sallie still continues so seriously ill. If she should not be restored by Spring I would suppose, from the representations of Doct Wood⁶ (our most eminent Phisician of Kansas City) that a sojourn at Denver City and vicinity during the summer months would greatly tend to restore her to health. When I last saw him he stated to me some cases of long disease which had seemed almost hopeless, that had been entirely cured by the summer atmosphere of that region of country. I cannot but deeply sympathise with you in the dangerous illness of any of your children, and trust that, the inclemency of the winter over, Cousin Sallies constitution favored by some genial climate, may triumph over the disease with which she seems so seriously threatened.

Your generous offer to use your influence in my behalf for the Democratic nomination for Governor is duly appreciated by me, but I cannot think so little of your judgment

⁵This picture was never engraved.

⁶Joseph M. Wood (1810-1888), often called the "Father of Surgery in the West," came to Kansas City from Liberty, Missouri, in 1885 and practiced medicine, particularly surgery, with a success that gave him a wide reputation in the west.

as to believe that you really think that I would make a better governor than yourself. Before all others, you are the man for the place, and I think you know it as well as I do. I moreover think it your duty, under present circumstances especially, to get the nomination if you can. Your suggestion as to a history of our State with illustrations, as the result of our joint labors strikes my fancy,⁷ as does also the suggestion of the great Historical Picture illustrative of some important event connected with that history. We can think over the matter, and if our lives be spared and circumstances favor us I do not think we could engage in a more creditable enterprise, or one that would cause us to be more favorably remembered when we are gone. I rejoice to be informed that my old and tried friend Wash Adams,⁸ has been ap-

⁷When Rollins and Bingham failed to carry into effect this suggestion of my father, the state suffered a great loss. With my father's intimate knowledge of the history of the State, and Bingham's ability to illustrate that knowledge, the work would have been most valuable.

⁸Washington Adams (1814-1883), was appointed in 1871 by Governor Brown to the Supreme Court of Missouri to fill a vacancy. Later he was elected to the place but he resigned in 1874. He said he was literally worn out as he and one of his brother judges did practically all the work of the court. Adams was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1875. A letter from Adams to my father contains so much of interest about Bingham that I print it here in full. The watermelon incident Adams relates in his letter would seem to indicate his acquaintance with the classic story of Zeuxis and the grapes.

Boonville Mo
Mar 20th 1882.

Maj Jas. S Rollins

Dear Sir—I read yours of late date some days since.

My earliest acquaintance with our late mutual friend George C. Bingham was in 1828. He was then an apprentice to the Revd Justinian Williams learning the cabinete business. He was as you are aware an enthusiast in every thing he undertook. He commenced drawing on the ground with his fingers—would make horses cows, chickens & other birds without any trouble—soon began to use pencil and paper, and afterwards colors. He painted old Dan/ Boone in a buck skin dress with his gun at his side for a sign for Judge Dades Hottel. The likeness was very good

It was one of Georges first attempts. One summer he asked me over to his shop to eat a good water mellow with him. He said he had cut a fine red meated water mellow. so I went over to eat a piece. He followed. I entered the shop and walked across to the bench where the watermellow was and took hold of the knife sticking up in it, but the knife was not there nor the mellow and George laughed heartily at the deception. I told him not to laugh for I had paid him the highest compliment I could by suffering myself to be deceived.

Bingham and P. L. Edwards and myself had our own debating societies when there were no others—and one of us would act as chairman while the other two debated—and in that way we learned to speak pretty well.

pointed by our liberal Governor to the Supreme bench. A better appointment could not have been made, and I feel disposed to regard this truly good deed of Brown as an offset to all the political sins of his past life, let them be few or many. I suppose Wash is in Jefferson now, if so, give him my regards and congratulations. I have not seen any papers from Missouri since I have been here. Can you not send me one occasionally. I have nothing in the way of news

We also wrote compositions selecting the same subject and then criticised them our selves. We got so we wrote very well.

about 1830 there was a revival in the Methodist church and Bingham and Edwards both joined and Bingham as usual became a very enthusiast and commenced exhorting and went round the circuit several times with preacher in charge & preached—but soon gave it up. In a year or two a portrait painter came a long (thought to be Chester Harding), and Bingham began at once to paint portraits. He painted mine—before I was quite grown—and made an excellent likeness which is yet in my house.

Of course he charge me nothing. He painted me again four or five years ago as an old man and made a splendid likeness but as before charged me nothing. I attended to some law cases in the supreme court for him and of course charged nothing.

Bingham courted his first wife Miss Elisabeth Hutchison daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Hutchison in 1835, and married her in 1836. She was a beautiful girl. Bingham was desperately in love, and after marriage commenced painting her portraits and painted several. I thought because he liked to sit and admire her. He had three children by her—one died—a boy & girl still live. The boy went off & he never heard of him. The girl married Mr. King a Methodist preacher and a son of Gov Austin King.

Bingham was one of the best men I ever saw, strictly honest and honorable. I don't recollect when his first wife died. His second wife was a Miss Thomas by whom he had a son now about 16 years old.

I think his second wife died in the insane asylum

His last wife was a Mrs Likens the widow of Dr. Likens of Kansas City. I think she is still a live and Bingham's son Rollins Bingham by his second wife is living with her.

There is a short sketch of his life in the History of Missouri page 469 & 470, which will greatly benefit you in making your sketch.

Very truly
Yours &c
Wash. Adams.

P. S.

I note what you say about the supreme bench. I would not have the office if it was tendered to me. When I had it I worked myself almost to death. Wagner and myself did three fourths of the work, when I was on the bench, and I was glad when I was not nominated. I would not stooped to the trickery of seeking a nomination.

W A

2d P S I see from the sketch in the History of Missouri that Bingham joined the batist church after his second marriage. I suppose because his second wife was a baptist.

W A.

to interest me except the investigation now going on in regard to the corruptions of the New York Custom house. From present indications I think it will turn out at least a second Taminy affair. The fact is the War has elevated knavery every where, and it becomes honest men to unite and send it to the pit as soon as possible.

Let me hear from you without delay, so that I may use your letter to hurry Sartain

Your
G. C. Bingham

Direct as before to Care of John Sartain Esqr
728 Sansom Street
Philadelphia

Philadelphia Jan 17 1872

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir,

Yours of the 12th inst came to hand day before yesterday. The package of papers are yet behind, perhaps miscarried, as I to day enquired at the post office for them.

Sartain is still laboring on our plate and thinks he will certainly finish it this week, but this I doubt, as he invariably fails as to time, and now that I am here, I mean to see that the work is made as perfect as possible. I labored all last week in retouching and correcting the proof in its then state, so as to make it precisely what I want it to be, and this corrected proof he has now before him, and when the details of his plate are so worked up as to print precisely like it the result will be entirely satisfactory. I gave him the portion of your letter in reference to the tardiness of his work, and feeling as he must do, that he has not done us entire justice, I am well assured that he will give his entire time to the work until it shall be completed. He seems to be a thorough gentleman, but one of those who have not the fortitude to say no to friends who continually call upon him for services, which

when yielded render it impossible for him to comply with his engagements to those at a distance who cannot stimulate him by their personal presence. I recieved a letter from my wife written at Jefferson City and informing me that she was there with Mrs Lykins⁹ in behalf of the orphans home of Kansas City. I am much gratified that you have become the advocate of their cause though it is nothing more than I would have expected from you whose heart is never dead to appeals from the angelic portion of our race. I trust their bill as urged by you will pass both the Senate and House. The orphans of the state are the children of the state and as such are entitled to its fostering care. I would like to be present at the meeting of the Liberals on the 24th but will not have my proofs in time to be there. I trust your friends and yourself will so arrange matters as to secure your nomination for the gubernatorial office by both Liberals and Democrats. I would like you to have one forwarded by Express, one hundred copies of the vindication of our picture, that I may put a few in the hands of agents and friends here and in New York.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

[Postscript written in margin]

P. S. Have the vindications sent to care of John Sartain, 728. Sansom Street Philadelphia

⁹Mattie A. Livingston (1824-1890), Bingham's third wife. She married Dr. Johnston Lykins on October 12, 1851, and after a year in Washington, D. C., they came to Kansas City to live. She and Dr. Lykins were two of the original eight members who organized the first Baptist church of Kansas City. Mrs. Lykins, aided by other women, founded the Widows' and Orphans' Home located in Kansas City. It afterwards became the Industrial Home and School for the orphans and indigent children of the State of Missouri. In 1877, after the society had donated the building and grounds to the State, the State let it revert to the society. Dr. Lykins died in 1876, and in 1878 Mrs. Lykins married George C. Bingham. Mrs. Lykins, Bingham's third wife, was a woman of outstanding ability, having, among other attributes, executive ability of high order. I was talking one day with J. V. C. Karnes, an able lawyer of Kansas City; Mrs. Bingham's name was mentioned, and Karnes, who had known her well for many years, remarked, "There was a woman of ability. She would have made a competent president of a large banking institution or insurance company."

Philadelphia Jan 23. 1872

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir,

I wrote to you some days since requesting you to have forwarded to me about one hundred copies of our vindication to be put in the hands of agents here and in New York, should I be able to find such competent and willing to undertake the sale of our print. But as some time will be required in the lettering and printing after the plate shall be completed, I have concluded it best, after the plate shall be finished, to get a few good proofs,¹⁰ and push the sale of the work by subscription in Mo. before presenting it to the public elsewhere. It is a work that will likely be attacked on political grounds and I think it will be better able to meet such attacks after being fortified by a general endorsement at home, where the history which it illustrates is well known. I think it will be well to begin in Kansas City in the midst of the witnesses who can verify the statements of our art record and begin, by having the vindication published in our Kansas City and Independence papers, openly challenging a contradiction of its utterances from any respectable source. I am confident none will be ventured, or if ventured will be speedily silenced. Sartain considers the plate now almost completed. The proof to day shows that only a few details are imperfect, so that two or three days will have it ready for the lettering. The lettering will take about two weeks time, but before this is done and as soon as the plate is finished I will have several proofs taken without lettering to be used immediately in Mo in canvassing for subscribers.

In a week from this time I now feel confident that I can leave here for home. I will call by and see you at Jefferson

¹⁰This refers to the engraving of "General Order No. 11." The picture, vividly recalling as it did the horrors of the Civil War, just a few years past, was bound to stir up sectional criticisms and animosities. Mr. Bingham, a strong Union man himself, was denounced by men equally pro-Union for having painted this picture, because, they said, it reflected upon the Union conduct of the war. I recall a letter to my father from J. V. C. Karnes, a strong Union man and warm friend of Bingham, in which he said Bingham should never have committed to canvas this reflection on the Union cause. On the other hand, Bingham was equally commended for his courage and impartiality in denouncing what he regarded as an outrageous and unnecessary order.

City and exhibit to yourself and our friends the result of Mr Sartains labors, then go to Kansas City and begin a canvass of the most accessible towns in the state.

I recieved the Republican containing your "*passive policy*" address before the Democratic meeting.¹¹ Recieved also to day Gov Browns message forwarded by you. I read the prominent New York papers daily and they seem to indicate that a firment is brewing that will at length throw the *scum* over the edge of the kettle into the fire. Drop me a line when you get this

Yours

G. C. Bingham

Kansas City May 10 1872

Maj. J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir,

My health has improved since I saw you in St Louis, and I have been engaged this week, when the weather would permit, in delivering Engravings to our subscribers here, a package of 200 having reached me from Sartain at the close of last week. My list of subscribers here has been made up from visitors to my Studio at different times, and

¹¹This speech was made at a meeting of the Democratic members of the Missouri General Assembly held in the Hall of Representatives on the evening of January 10, 1872. There were other speeches made on the subject at this meeting, but the principal ones, those of James O. Broadhead and my father were the only ones fully reported in the newspapers.

The "passive policy," sometimes called the "Missouri policy" since it started in Missouri, aimed to prevent the re-election of Grant. It meant that the Democratic party, as a political organization, should place no candidate in the field wherever that party, at the last election, was in the minority, but should give its support, so far as the influence of its organization went, to the candidate who might be nominated by the Liberal Republicans in opposition to the military government of Grant.

In 1868, I heard Frank Blair in a speech in Omaha, Nebraska, express the opinion that "if we elect Grant to the Presidency of the United States, we will sign the death warrant of our Republic; Grant will establish himself as dictator and will only come out of the White House feet foremost." This, I think, was pure political buncombe on Blair's part. However, there were many who honestly feared that Grant, re-elected to the presidency, would become a dictator and establish a military despotism throughout the country.

the most of them being entitled to a credit of \$5 00 formerly paid upon the photograph which preceded the Engraving, collections for the latter do not count up so rapidly as they will do elsewhere. I have forwarded to our friend and associate Price, by the mail which takes this a check for \$200 00 the amount of subscriptions collected here up to this date. There are yet from \$150 00 to \$200 00 due from subscribers whom I have not yet been able to see on account of continued rains. As soon as the weather clears up I will finish the collection here, and then continue the work of distribution and collection Elsewhere until all the expenses of the publication are defrayed. All the subscribers seem delighted with the engraving, and pay promptly as I present it to them.

Your namesake Rollins has dropped the pencil for the present and is trying his wit as a novelist. He has already produced some 15 or 20 chapters of a story of Western life and adventure, which will amuse you much when you see it. I must confess that his literary ability seems far in advance of any that his father could pretend to at the same age.

Greely and Brown stock is very high here.¹² I have seen but one democrat who does not promise the ticket a hearty support. I see you are to address a liberal meeting in St Louis to morrow evening. May we not soon hear your voice here in the same good cause? My love to all

Yours

G. C. Bingham

P. S. I did not come to a final agreement with Dameron¹³ and his publishing company before I left St Louis. The matter however is yet pending.

¹²In the presidential election of 1872, Missouri gave Greeley a majority of 32,238 over Grant. Grant, with a popular majority of 700,000, received 286 electoral votes while Greeley received 63.

¹³Logan Douglas Dameron (1827-1891), president of the Methodist Episcopal Church Publishing Company of St. Louis, where for many years he was a prominent business man, having established in 1859 the commission house of Nanson, Dameron and Company. Dameron, a devout Methodist, published a paper, the *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, to advance the cause of methodism.

Kansas City June 23, 1872

Maj J. S. Rollins

My Dear Sir

I yesterday wrote you a long letter in pencil in answer to yours of the 15th from Columbia, which, through some accident, did not reach me until yesterday morning. I enclose you Glovers¹⁴ letter, as you requested, and I also enclosed you a criticism, in my way, upon the conduct of Wilson¹⁵ as I had learned it from Glover and friends, some of Judge Woodsons friends, to wit, our friends Birch Turner and a few others. And also from Blair especially as to his threat which brought the deserter back to his support. Blair also informed me that Wilson had promised his friends that he would support him, outside of his pretended letter and before its sudden revival in his memory.

As I informed you in my letter of yesterday the criticism was intended for the Times of this city unless its conductors should refuse to insert it. But it was my desire that you should see it in advance, and if you considered its publication proper, that you might, without being personally involved in it in any way suggest its publication any where and in what manner you thought best. To adapt it to publication elsewhere than in the Times I hurriedly altered the address so as to read to the people of my county and state instead of to the Editor of the Times, but it struck me immediately after I had enclosed and sealed it that this would sound rather awkward and austentatious especially as my real signature did not accompany it, which I desire only to be known, except by conjecture to those who have a right to hold me responsible for its statements. If the substance and style of the article meets with your approbation,

¹⁴Samuel T. Glover (1813-1884), long known as one of the great lawyers of the Missouri bar. Specially recognized as the ablest constitutional lawyer of his time in the west. He was cold and rather forbidding in his association with men and hence not personally popular. He was one of the organizers of the Missouri Historical Society.

¹⁵R. P. C. Wilson (1834-1916), lawyer and legislator. Succeeded James N. Burnes in 1889 as representative from Missouri in Congress, and was reelected in 1893. He was the father of Francis M. Wilson, who died in 1932 a few weeks after his nomination for the governorship of Missouri.

you can suggest any change in the heading and conclusion that you think proper, and either make it yourself or send it back to me. I have no objection to my name accompanying the article other than it might appear that I was thrusting myself unnecessarily before the public. I requested you to return Glovers letter to me only because he does not permit me to use it except for the purpose of defending myself should my statements be denied.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

[Postscript written in margin]

P. S. In my letter yesterday I replied fully to yours except as to my own history, which for your gratification I will try to give during my proposed rest in the mountains, let me hear from you immediately on receipt of this

Columbia July 4, 1872

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

I received your letter yesterday morning as I was preparing to leave for Baltimore, and expected to see you to day, but am disappointed in finding you absent. When I saw you in St Louis I expected to go to Denver immediately, but my old friend Doct Wood advised me first to go to New York and have my throat thoroughly examined by a skillful phizican there who could command the necessary apparatus for such an examination.

The Doct. examined my chest and told me that he could find no indication of lung disease, and therefore supposed it must be entirely in the throat. As the Doct advised the visit to New York, it suits me very well to attend the Baltimore Convention, and as I have but little time to spare I will leave here this afternoon, and hope to see you on my return, which I think will not be longer than two weeks from this date. From all the information I have been able to gather from those who have visited the mountains for health, I am led to believe that the region considerably south

of Denver, bordering on New Mexico is the best for confirmed consumptives. This too is Doct. Woods opinion. He told me that there was a narrow gauge rail road extending from Denver to Taos in New Mexico. If he is not mistaken in this it would be easy for you to take cousin Sallie there, where the atmosphere is dry and not near so cold as it is in the neighborhood of Denver City. The examination which I will subject myself to in New York must determine whether it will be best for me to go out this summer or not. My condition has improved since I saw you, and it may be that I had better stay in Missouri, and do as much as possible in the sale of our Engraving until it shall be necessary for me to seek a warmer climate as the winter approaches.

The day before I left home, I sent by freight train to Mr Price, a box containing one hundred prints of the "Martial Law" and twelve prints of the County Election. He will likely do nothing with them until I return. I leave my subscription book on your table, also two or three Kansas City papers and a St Joseph paper. The Kansas City paper you will percieve is playing a heavy game of brag for Wilson. If you should deem it necessary we will try and put him on the defensive when I return. He has expressed a wish through his friend Edwards¹⁶ of the Times, to have an interview with me in order to explain his duplicity in the Senatorial Contest, but I told his friend that any communication he may make upon the subject must be in writing. He cannot acquit himself.

I anticipate an interesting time at Baltimore,¹⁷ and may drop you a line while there. You will find in my sub-

¹⁶John Newman Edwards (1838-1889), journalist and soldier. A member of Shelby's corps during the Civil war. In 1868, in connection with Colonel John C. Moore, he established the *Kansas City Times*. Edwards negotiated the surrender of Frank James to Governor Crittenden. After a varied journalistic career, he returned to be editor of the *Kansas City Times*, in which position he died. Edwards was a stormy petrel, violent in his opinions which he expressed in lurid language. His criticism of Governor Crittenden for the part he played in ridding Missouri of the James gang has been greatly condemned as being flagrantly unjust.

¹⁷Bingham went to Baltimore to the Democratic National Convention, which adopted the Liberal Republican candidates, Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown, a nomination which to me has always bordered as the absurd. In view of Greeley's past record, his adoption by the Democrats as their presidential

scription book Rollins's first novel illustrated by himself. He wrote it hastily at night when school and play hours were over, and you may not be able to read it very easily. His Ma says that he is engaged upon another which is quite an improvement on this.

You will bear in mind that he has yet taken no lessons in grammar, and I perceive that in his hurry he frequently omits a word. I left all well at home.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

Kansas City Nov. 20. 1872

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir, Yours of the 17th inst. reached me yesterday morning. It pains me much to learn from it that there is now scarcely any hope to be entertained of the recovery of our dear young Cousin Sally. I was strongly encouraged in the belief, when I left Denver, that her natural constitution, the water of the iron spring and the pure and invigorating air of Colorado would give her a final triumph over her disease, and am sadly disappointed in learning that she is so much worse, and in all probability must soon succumb to her fatal malady. As you say, it does indeed seem hard that one so young so innocent so full of promise so beautiful and so highly endowed with those mental and moral qualities which makes her companionship so dear to her friends and an hundred fold dearer to parents and brothers and sisters, should be taken away in the morning of life leaving an aching void whose pangs defy all the alleviating suggestions of philosophy and scarcely find solace in the strongest Christian faith. We but know that such bereavements are the sovereign will of the Omnipotent, and though hard for us to bear are

nominee was a bitter pill to many Democrats, while the Republicans regarded him as a renegade. An anti-Greeley newspaper of that time said that Horace Greeley once asserted, "I do not say that every Democrat is a horse-thief, but I do say that every horse-thief is a Democrat." And the newspaper continues by saying, "Then, of course, all the horse thieves will vote for Greeley. That would be a horse thief voting for a nigger thief."

in harmony with the All wise, the All good, and the Boundless love. The compensating future will show us in our final triumph over mortality that the great Ruler orders all things for our ultimate good, and that those whom he takes from us in their early beauty and innocence are to be the angels first to greet us upon the Eternal shore and impart the highest bliss to the reunion which is never to break up.

Since I returned from Denver I have been engaged in painting a few portraits. I had intended last week to have gone to Saline and Chariton to distribute prints to subscribers there, but the weather suddenly became so severe that I deemed it imprudent to venture out. I have not lost any thing in strength since I returned home but my cough is again becoming troublesome, and if it threatens to continue I think it will be well for me to visit Texas this winter, as I have some interest in lands there which should be looked after. I will order a canvass from the east for your portrait to-morrow, and if I remain at home this winter will finish it so that it can be placed in the University in the spring. I see that there is to be quite a contest in our Legislature for the U. S. senatorship.¹⁸ I think you ought to stand a good

¹⁸When Charles D. Drake resigned his seat in the United States Senate in 1871 to become Chief Justice of the Court of Claims in Washington, D. C., Frank P. Blair, although a mortally ill man, was chosen to succeed him. Blair never recovered from his stroke of paralysis, which rendered helpless his right arm and leg, but with his optimism and resourcefulness he learned to write with his left hand, and continued with unabated zeal his political schemes and projects. I have several letters to my father from Blair written with his left hand. Blair was a candidate to succeed himself in 1873, but Louis V. Bogy was chosen his successor.

Blair, a warm friend of my father, was frequently at our house. Although I never saw him drunk, he was, as were many men of that day, a hard drinker, in the sense that he was a constant and capacious drinker. I recall one occasion in particular (it was in 1867, I think) that is fairly typical of the way Blair could carry his liquor. He had made a speech at the old Fair Grounds in Columbia. The day was hot, he had had a great audience and made a good speech. I drove home with Blair and my father after his speech and as we entered the cool hallway of our house, Blair turned to my father and said, "Jim, I want a good drink of whiskey." A decanter, with glasses, pitcher of water, sugar and cracked ice was placed on the hall table. Blair, ignoring the accessories, filled one of the glasses, a tumbler holding nearly half a pint, with good old Bourbon, and drank it off with great relish. The only effect it seemed to have on him was to stimulate his conversational powers, and he abused the "damned Radicals" in picturesque and lurid fashion. I recall my father's saying to him on that occasion, "Frank, this habit of drink is going to ruin you.

chance in the scramble, and I trust you will not allow your generosity to commit yourself *against* yourself as you have done before. I begin to hope in Grant since the Election. As he does not need the rascals any more I hope he will throw them off and put himself in decent company. He has now a good chance to make himself a name that will live in honor. Let me hear from you soon. When you go to Denver let us see you as you pass. Wife joins in love to all.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

You should give it up." I remember distinctly the expression on Blair's face as he said, "Jim, this is no habit; I can quit it any day I choose. On my speaking tours about the state, I need a bracer now and then to keep me in good shape." A few years later, however, perceiving, no doubt, that his bracers had become a habit, and realizing he should call a halt, Blair, with his iron will, stopped drinking overnight, which it was currently said resulted in a stroke of paralysis in November, 1872, although he himself attributed the stroke to the excessive use of tobacco. No doubt each played a part in the result. After Blair's retirement from the United States senate, he was appointed by Governor Woodson, Superintendent of the Insurance Department of the state; and while an incumbent of the office, died in St. Louis after a long illness at the age of 54, July 9th, 1875, and is buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery.

Blair was a man of great courage. The word fear had no place in his vocabulary. On one occasion, when warned that he would not be permitted to speak at Warrensburg except at the risk of his life, he went there and in the face of an excited, hostile crowd mounted the platform. The following story has been told with infinite variations, but the gist of it is that Blair, in commencing his speech, said to the crowd that he understood he was to be killed there that day, and perhaps the matter had better be attended to at once. A man in the audience said, "Throw him out." Blair looked at the man, beckoned to him and said, "Come and put me out." The man, armed, started towards the speaker's stand and was killed by a friend of Blair. Great excitement prevailed and a riot was begun. Blair maintained his stand on the platform and after the riot was quelled went on with his speech. I have it from my good friend, Walter Scott Williams, professor of engineering in the University of Missouri, now retired, that as an historical fact, it was his father, Oliver Davis Williams, who killed Blair's assailant at Warrensburg. Crittenden and Cockrell, and Vest and Phillips, two leading law firms, one in Warrensburg and the other in Sedalia, came forward and offered their services gratis to defend Mr. Williams, who was promptly acquitted when he was tried at Independence, Missouri. In passing, it is interesting to note that Crittenden was a colonel in the Union army and his partner, Cockrell, a general in the Confederate army. Vest was a member of the Confederate senate and his partner, Phillips, a colonel in the Union army. It has been said that these firms were politically formed to get business from both union and southern sympathisers. Whether true or not, they were the popular firms in that section of the State for many years.

Kansas City March 24. 1873

Maj. J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir, I perceive by the Stateman [*Statesman?*] that you have returned from Washington. During the five or six weeks past I have been constantly at work on your portrait and have just completed it. As soon as it is sufficiently dry I will roll it up and take it to Columbia, when unrolled it may require some little retouching which I can give then.

I have felt deep personal interest in the work and have spared no effort to make it such as will give to the future youth of our State a correct idea of the man to whom they will be so much indebted. You may look for me either on next Saturday or Monday. I hope you will be at home. My health has been only so so this winter, my cough has hung on with tenacity, and I daily suffer considerable pain, resulting, as the doctors say, from indigestion or dyspepsia. I have not however relapsed into the feeble condition in which I was last summer and until my visit to the mountains.

As soon as I deliver your portrait I must go to Texas to look after my deceased brothers estate, and will be absent perhaps six weeks or two months. Texas is fast being populated and what interest we have there cannot longer be safely neglected.

Our new governor ¹⁹ does not seem to give general satisfaction to his party, yet quite as much as I expected after developments which succeeded his nomination. I voted for him but with considerable reluctance. As a friend he is treacherous and as a politician slippery. Such at least is my opinion.

My Wife joins me in love to Yourself Cousin Mary and the family.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

¹⁹Silas Woodson (1817-1896), first Democratic governor of Missouri (1873-1875) after the Civil war.

Kansas City May 19 1873

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir,

Your kind letter of the 10th came duly to hand, finding me still in bed. I am now convalescent, and for the last two or three days have been able to sit up a few hours at a time. You ask me for a full statement touching the business between myself and Goupil & Co. which I here give as briefly as possible. While superintending the Engraving of my County Election being executed by Sartain in Philadelphia in the spring of 1854, I occupied the time of my detention in such supervision in painting a companion to the County Election, which I entitled the County Canvass, but which title was subsequently changed to "Stump Speaking" under the supposition that the change would aid the sale of the Engraving. About the time this companion picture was completed I was called upon by Leon Goupil Esqr. who at that time was at the head of the branch firm of Goupil & Co. located in Broadway New York. He was much pleased with the picture, proposed terms for engraving and publishing the same which I accepted, and which terms are embodied in a written agreement a duplicate of which is now in my possession attested by the signature and seal of the parties and witnessed by D. D. Byerly, who was at that time a travelling agent for Goupil & Co. By the terms of the agreement it is stipulated that several classes of prints from the Engraving were to be published and such numbers of each class as the publishers (Goupil & co. should deem proper. *Artists proofs* were to constitute the first class, and to be sold at \$40 each. *Proofs before letter* were to constitute the second class and were to be sold at \$20 each. Colored prints were to be the third class and were to be sold at such price above plain prints as the publishers might determine. The plain prints were to constitute the last class, and were to be sold at \$10 00 each. The agreement stipulates that, on the first day of January in each year after the publication of said engraving Goupil & co shall account to me or my agent and exhibit to me or my agent, a statement of all the copies of said engraving printed

by them, and the number and description of the copies sold and unsold, and that on or before the first day of April there after they will pay to me for the copies thus sold the following sums for each description, viz, for each Artists proff \$12 00 for each proof before letter \$6 00 for each plain impression \$3 00 and for each colored engraving \$5 00. The above is the substance of the agreement so far as regards the "Stump Speaking" and is dated April 14th 1854. The agreement in regard to the County Election is dated May the 25th 1854. In regard to the latter there is, as yet, no dispute between us, but during the past year I have several times requested from the firm in New York a statement of the account between us, which requests have been met by evasive answers, and persistent denials that I have any interest in the Engraving of the *Stump Speaking*. Fortunately the County Election was printed in Philadelphia, and the books of Mr Irwin the printer, which are now in possession of Mr Sartain show how many were there printed, and how many were furnished from his press to Goupil & co. It has been in their power however to have as many printed elsewhere as they saw proper, since that time. Mr Knoedler ²⁰ the head of the firm in New York is now abroad, or was a short time ago, his brother representing the firm in his absence, and it is with the latter that I have corresponded recently, and who upon the authority of his brother in Europe and the statement of employees of the firm denies that I have an interest in the Stump Speaking.

About the time the pictures were published by Goupil I went to Europe. Soon after I returned our terrible war overwhelmed us in Missouri. At its close other matters required my constant attention, And having duplicates of the agreements between myself and Goupil & Co. also having implicit confidence in the integrity of the house, I considered my interest safe with them, hence my delay in asking a settlement. In the agreement regarding the "Stump Speaking

²⁰Michael Knoedler, founder of Knoedler and Company in New York, 1846, as an agency of Goupil & Cie.

the picture is designated as the County Canvass, but before publication it was changed by mutual assent to Stump Speaking. It was engraved in Paris and printed in the establishment of Goupil & co. If you can get our minister Washburne²¹ to trouble himself about the matter, he might enquire for a copy of the print and without exciting suspicion might get some information as to the number printed and sent to the firm in New York. Or he might obtain the service of some skillful Frenchman, who might worm it all out.

I am greatly obliged to you for the interest you take in the matter as well as all other matters pertaining to my interest and regret that there is so little prospect of my ever being able to reciprocate such favors. My cough still troubles me, but would give me but little annoyance were it not for my great debility. Yet I am perhaps gaining strength as rapidly as might be expected in one of my age. I am the only invalid, all others of the family are well, and all join in regards to yourself Cousin Mary and the dear ones with you. Let me hear from you very soon.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

P. S. I think I had perhaps better go to New York as soon as my health permits, and press a settlement with Goupil & co. before I go I will see you and exhibit to you my correspondence with Knoedler. let me have your advice.

G. C. B.

²¹Elihu Benjamin Washburne (1816-1887), congressman, cabinet member, diplomat, historian. He is said to have been the sole person to greet Lincoln on his secret arrival in Washington for the inauguration in 1861. He was a warm personal and political friend of Lincoln and Grant. Grant appointed him secretary of state, a post he assumed March 5, 1869, resigned March 10 and vacated March 16. It was thought to be a courtesy appointment preliminary to his designation March 17, minister to France, and designed to give him prestige abroad. Grant fell out with him when an unsuccessful boom for Washburne conflicted with his own futile aspirations for a third term. Washburne was minister to France until the fall of 1877.

Kansas City June 31 1873

Maj. J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir,

Your last letter found me again in bed, where I have had the ill fortune to be a good portion of the time since my return from Texas. I am up again to day, feeling pretty well, though much weakened. Doct Wood tells me that I must go to the mountains and I have made up my mind to follow his advice as soon as I can make my arrangements to do so, there to remain until my health shall be permanently restored. I perceive from the Statesman of Friday that your portrait has been tendered to the Board of Curators. I am anxious to know what action was taken upon it. In order to remove it to the University, I think it will be necessary to roll it up. If this should be required no one should attempt it but myself.

I received a letter from our friend Morgan on yesterday. He is for you for our next Governor and Woodson for U. S. Senator. I will write to him to day letting him know what *I think of Woodson*. Rollins wrote to you something more than a week ago, perhaps, and has been anxiously awaiting a reply to his letter. As he has nothing to employ him during the vacation, he expressed a desire to visit you should it be convenient to you for him to do so at this time.

I will see you before I go to the mountains. I will go to Saline in a few days if my strength permits, as I wish to have an interview with my sister and sister-in law looking to a division, of our interest in Texas. While there I will deliver prints of "Martial Law"²² to the subscribers I have in the county. With the evidence I have in my possession, I think my matter with Goupil & co in New York can be attended to without my presence there. When you hear from Paris the case perhaps can be safely committed to an attorney and thus enable me to remain in the mountains. Let me hear from you at your earliest convenience. My wife joins me in love to all

Yours

G. C. Bingham

²²More commonly known as "General Order No. 11."

Kansas City Aug 3 1873

Maj. J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

On yesterday I received a letter from J. D. Osborne Esqr of Louisville Ky, asking me to send some of my pictures to their exposition which opens on the 5th of September, and thinking it would afford a favorable opportunity to obtain subscribers to our engraving, I concluded that I would send them the large picture and also my picture of "Crossing the Delaware."

They propose to pay expense of transportation to and from the exposition and also to insure the pictures to the full value at which I rate them while in transit and in their possession.

Since I last wrote to you my health has continued to improve—indeed for at least a week past I have felt quite well, having no cough and no dyspepsia, and am consequently becoming hopeful of permanently restored health. If I continue well as at present I will go to Louisville and make the best of the exposition which may lie in my power. I received to day the proceedings and speeches upon the occasion of the presentation of your portrait. They send us to immortality together. Conants²³ allusion to myself was such as became a true artist, devoted to Art and generous to its professors.

I am much gratified that the matter has terminated so well.

I have not heard from Rollins since you wrote. I suppose he is so constantly and delightfully engaged that he cannot take time to write to his old pa. Well be it so, I would rather he would be innocently and usefully employed during

²³Alban Jasper Conant (1821-1915), artist and archaeologist and warm friend of Bingham. He was a curator of the University of Missouri from 1868 to 1875, and was particularly valuable to the institution in connection with its courses in agriculture and mining. In 1876 he published "The Archaeology of Missouri," and in 1879 "Foot-prints of Vanished Races in the Mississippi Valley." These essays have a value as among the first investigations along these lines undertaken in America. Conant's last picture, "The First Gun at Fort Sumter," was completed in 1910. He painted a portrait of Lincoln from life which has been highly commended as a faithful likeness.

the entire vacation and so happy as not to think of writing than otherwise. But you at least must let me hear from you on receipt of this and let me know your judgment in regard to my intended attendance on the Louisville Exposition. My love to Cousin Mary and all

Yours

C. G. Bingham

Louisville Sept 9 1873

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir,

In my letters to you I forgot to mention that I called upon Harding the picture frame dealer on north fifth Street St Louis and ascertained from him the terms upon which he would furnish a frame for your portrait. He informed me that he would furnish such a frame as that on the portrait of Mr Bates for \$125 00. He said that he thought the frame ought to be about as heavy as that of Mr. Bates' portrait, and that one or two inches in the size would made no material difference in the price. He appeared to know all about the frame on the Bates portrait, and said that the price put on it by Pettes & Leathe was \$175 00. I thought I understood from you that the University paid more than \$200 00 for it. I think it would be best to have Harding furnish the frame.

My picture of Martial Law attracts great attention in the Exposition, but as yet I realize no benefit therefrom to the Engraving. In the crowd that constantly presses before it I cannot distinguish such persons who would most likely purchase an Engraving. Besides the noise from the machinery and the constant buz of innumerable tongues renders it almost impossible for me to engage in a conversation with any person without a strained effort.

I think it would have been much better could I have foreseen it, to have had the picture entirely under my own control in some book or picture store on Main Street where I could have conviently addressed such persons as might manifest an interest in the picture. By a strange neglect the managers of the Art Gallery have not yet furnished visitors

with a Catalogue of the pictures. The brief description of the picture and statement of facts belonging to its subject, one of which I enclosed to you in my last, I can only throw upon the floor before the picture, they are immediately picked up, read with avidity, and then carried away. I had 2000 printed and find it rather too expensive a mode of furnishing information. A catalogue with but two or three explanatory paragraphs would give all the information necessary, and save me much trouble as well as expense. But this was prevented by the stubbornness and bigotry of Osborne, and I do not know certainly that even the title of the picture will appear in the Catalogue. I have endeavored in vain to find a suitable person to canvass the City and State for the Engraving. I thought I had found the man in Mr Draper whose card I enclosed to you, but upon seeing him subsequently I thought I discovered an unwillingness to engage in the work unless he could first have Louisville and a few other of the larger cities, and that upon condition that the prints be furnished him at 50 per cent discount, and the original picture of which he was to have the use, be ensured at our expense. I was led to believe that after canvassing these cities which he could do with comparatively little labor and reaping his large profits there, he would abandon other portions of the state where his profits would be much less in proportion to his labor. There is a young man now engaged in the exposition, the son of an old rebel friend of mine from Mo. who I think may be induced to undertake the canvass after the exposition is over. He appears to be a young man of intelligence and seems to have an extensive acquaintance in the state. I will enquire further about him. His name is McCarty, his father edited a spirited paper in Kansas City at the beginning of the war, in support of the *"lost cause"*

I presented your letter of introduction to your old friend Doct. Rogers. He received me very cordially and I like him very much. He had already been familiar with my published pictures and expressed great gratification at forming my acquaintance. He introduced me immediately to his wife and son who is a fine looking gentleman, also a physician. I called

at the store of Mr Owsley but he was absent in Chicago. I presented your letter to his son-in law Mr Aikin, who seemed delighted to see me, and introduced me to all in the store. As he was not engaged I remained with him an hour. He assured me that Mr Owsley would be glad to see me on his return, and also assured me that he would do all that lay in his power to advance my interests in Louisville. I informed you in my last that I had not felt so well since I left home. My cough has returned, but is not yet very troublesome. I had a severe chill and subsequent fever two days ago, but I prevented its repetition by a good dose of quinine. I have left the Galt house²⁴ and am living at a boarding house on moderate terms let me hear from you soon. Love to all

Yours

G. C. Bingham

Kansas City Sept. 28 1873

Maj. J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir.

Our country seems again involved in a general financial embarrassment which, as long as it continues, must interfere very much with the sale of our engraving, such things not belonging to the necessities of life. I had intended as soon as I could get the picture from Louisville to canvass the towns of this state, such as I had not yet visited, before going elsewhere. The policy however of doing so, under present circumstances is a question which I desire you and our friend Price to decide. I fear that I could be able to obtain but few subscribers while the pressure continues, and the field having been traversed once *unsuccessfully* would greatly damage the sale of the print therein afterwards. The expenses of can-

²⁴A famous hostelry in its day, where people from all over the South were wont to congregate. It is said more fatal encounters took place in the lobby of this hotel than in any other in the United States. It was here in 1834 that Cassius Marcellus Clay had his fight with Dr. DeClary over Mary Jane Warfield, whom Clay subsequently married. In this fight my father was Clay's second. It was in the lobby of this hotel that Judge Wilkinson of Jackson, Mississippi, who had come to Louisville to marry one of Kentucky's famous belles, became involved in a difficulty, and with his friends killed two Louisville citizens. This tragedy was made famous by Seargent S. Prentiss's defense of the defendants in one of the most famous trials ever held in Kentucky.

vassing, all included, amounts to at least four dollars per day, with the strictest economy, perhaps considerably more, counting passage and transportation of picture. Yet if you and Price think it best that I shall make the effort I will do so to the best of my ability, and will at all times be guided by your judgment as it is my earnest desire that the capital you have generously invested in the publication shall be refunded as soon as possible, but I fear that pressing the canvass now, may prove so discouraging as to retard rather than facilitate this end. Let me have the views of you both on the subject at your earliest convenience.

I enclose you a letter from Doct. Hutchison²⁵ of Brooklyn. He has often urged me to open a studio in New York. If we postpone for the present the canvass for our Engraving, I might go and try the experiment this winter, leaving my family here. I think his general acquaintance there would be of great service to me, both in having my works brought into notice, and in securing me business as a portrait painter. New York is a great Democratic City, and consequently the mass of its population would sympathize with such a work as my "Martial Law." I could ascertain the feeling in a short time, and the picture could be sent there if the prospect seemed good for a sale of the Engravings. I will go only in the event that you and Price concur in the propriety of suspending the canvass for the print here until the financial storm blows over, which I trust it will do by spring if not earlier.

Although I have a cough I am feeling very well. I walk from four to five miles every day to and from my meals and feel no inconvenience or weariness, and have stoped taking stimulants, feeling no necessity for them. I begin to hope that my ²⁶

(To be continued)

²⁵Joseph B. Hutchison, brother of Mr. Bingham's first wife, Elizabeth Hutchison. Author of a work on physiology.

²⁶The remainder of this letter is lacking.

MISSOURIANA

The Missouri Heritage of the West
Red-Letter Books Relating to Missouri
Missouri and Mississippi River Shore Lines in Missouri
The "New Theory" of Captain John Cleves Symmes (1790-1829)
Topics in Missouri History
Do You Know, or Don't You?
Verse in the Missouri Pioneer Press

THE MISSOURI HERITAGE OF THE WEST

Part I: The Pacific Coast States (*continued*)
Oregon

The population figures of Oregon show evidence of Missouri influence to an even greater extent than those of California. In the census of 1850, Missourians composed one-fifth of the native American population of Oregon and while this proportion was not attained again, Missouri remained in the lead among the states contributing to the population of Oregon until 1910, and even now ranks fourth.

Although Missourians did not participate in making the first overland path to Oregon as they did in the case of California, fur-traders, pathfinders, and trail-makers were soon on the way from Missouri. The Lewis and Clark expedition, led by two men who were to be territorial governors of Missouri, was the second expedition to explore the interior of Oregon. The Astoria overland expedition (1810-1812) was led by Wilson Price Hunt, a native of New Jersey who was in business in St. Louis from 1804 to 1809, and who returned to business and public life in St. Louis. Russell Farnham, a Massachusetts clerk, joined the Astoria sea expedition and remained in the fur-trading business with the Astors thereafter. Farnham established his home in Missouri in later life. Benjamin Jones, a Missourian, was employed as a huntsman for the Astoria overland party. Robert McClellan, a Missouri fur-trader, joined the Astoria expedition at their winter camp, 1810-1811. Three nephews of Alexander McNair, first governor of the State of Missouri, went on the

overland Astoria expedition as hunters. Gabriel Franchere, a Canadian, who had been employed in St. Louis for a time by Pierre Chouteau, assisted in the founding of Astoria.

Fur-traders of Missouri continued pushing into the northwest either independently or with fur companies. The expeditions sent out by William Henry Ashley of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company helped to establish contacts with the Oregon country, reopening the South Pass across the Rockies and following the path of what was to become the Oregon Trail. Jedediah Smith, William L. Sublette, Etienne Provot, Jim Bridger and others were among the leaders in the expeditions.

Missionaries from the East followed close upon the fur-traders and in many instances accompanied them. Two Missouri boys, Philip L. Edwards (a native of Kentucky, but a Missourian in his boyhood) and Courtney M. Walker, joined the Jason Lee missionary party when it came through Missouri. Edwards taught school in Oregon, went to California, and returned to Missouri where he practiced law at Richmond and was elected to the Missouri legislature. While in Missouri, he wrote a booklet entitled *A Sketch of the Oregon Territory, or Emigrant's Guide* which was published at Liberty, Missouri in 1842. Perhaps this guide was partly responsible for the large immigration parties which set forth from Missouri during the forties.

The first of the home-seeking parties starting from Missouri began its journey with the Bidwell expedition in 1841, part of the group going to Oregon and the other to California. Father De Smet set out for Oregon from Westport with the Bidwell expedition and accompanied the California-bound immigrants a portion of the way. De Smet had come to America from Belgium in 1821 and by 1823 had been transferred from the novitiate of the Jesuit order near Baltimore to the second novitiate in the United States at Florissant near St. Louis, Missouri. He had been ordained in 1827, and after some years in Europe, began his missionary work with the Indians. He did much to aid the Catholic mission work in the Pacific northwest.

In the "Great Emigration" of 1843 were Peter Hardeman Burnett and Jesse Applegate. Peter Burnett remained in Oregon long enough to become a member of the legislative committee of Oregon in 1845, a member of the supreme court of the territory, and a member of the territorial legislature, before he settled in California and became the first civil governor of that state. Jesse Applegate, accompanied by his brothers, Lindsey and Charles, together with Daniel Waldo and a number of other prospective settlers from St. Clair county, Missouri, set out for Oregon in 1843. Jesse Applegate had been born in Kentucky, but had come to Missouri in 1827 when he was ten. After attending school in Illinois, he was employed as clerk in the surveyor-general's office in St. Louis before he became deputy surveyor-general. He established a home in the Osage valley and then joined the party which left for Oregon in 1843, leading the group which opened the southern road into Oregon. As a member of the legislative committee of the provisional government of Oregon Territory, Applegate was instrumental in the revision of that government. He was elected to the constitutional convention of 1857 but did not remain until the state constitution was completed. He was active in politics, successful in business, promoted construction of railroads, and by his writings did much to mold public opinion.

Emigrant parties grew larger by the middle and late forties. Samuel Hancock, a Missourian, traveled in a group of two hundred which left Independence in 1845. Robert Wilson Morrison, a Kentuckian who had grown to manhood in Missouri and had established a home here, started for Oregon in 1844 and ranks among the pioneers who did much to help Oregon. John Fleming, who had published the *Platte Argus* in Missouri for a time, was also among the immigrants of 1844; he became the printer of the first newspaper in Oregon. Fleming also served as a postmaster in Oregon for a number of years. Benjamin F. Burch, a native of Chariton county, Missouri, went to Oregon in 1845, and became closely identified with the government of the state. His father, Samuel Burch, who followed him in 1847, was a member of the first territorial legislature. George Lemuel

Woods, another native Missourian from Boone county, arrived in 1847 and became governor of Oregon, serving from 1866 to 1870. Woods was appointed governor of Utah Territory and served from 1871 to 1875. He also practiced law in California, after which he again made his home in Oregon. Dr. James McBride, a Tennessean who had settled in Missouri, studied medicine and began to practice in Missouri but went to Oregon in 1846. McBride was also a minister and elder of the Christian Church as was his father, Thomas McBride, who accompanied him. Dr. James McBride was a member of the territorial legislature in 1850 and a member of the constitutional convention of 1857. He was appointed United States minister to the Sandwich Islands in 1863. John R. McBride, the son of Dr. James, also became a prominent figure in the government of Oregon, serving as a member of the constitutional convention of 1857, state senator, and congressman. He was appointed United States judge for the district of Idaho and also practiced law at Spokane, Washington. A woman, Tabitha Moffat Brown, went to Oregon in 1846 and together with Harvey Clark, a Congregational minister, established a school for poor children. This school became the foundation of one of the leading colleges of Oregon. Mrs. Brown was a native of Massachusetts but had lived in Missouri for some time before going to Oregon. George Law Curry, a Pennsylvanian who had done newspaper work in St. Louis for three years, left Missouri for Oregon in 1846. He became editor of the *Oregon Spectator* and founded the first weekly newspaper in Oregon Territory. Curry was a member of the legislature of the provisional government and of the territorial government; served as chief clerk of the territorial council, secretary of the territory in 1853, acting governor late in 1853, and was appointed governor in 1854. A county in Oregon was named for him.

Among the outstanding immigrants of the fifties were John Burnett, John Kelsay, John Whiteaker, Reuben P. Boise, James H. D. Henderson, James A. Waymire, George W. Webb, and Jessy Quinn Thornton. The colony established at Aurora, Oregon, in 1855 by emigrants from the German communistic community at Bethel, Missouri, may also be

mentioned. John Burnett, who had been born and reared in Pike county, Missouri, went to California in 1849 and then moved to Oregon in 1858. In Oregon, he became an associate justice of the state supreme court, a member of the state senate, and was elected circuit judge. John Kelsay was not a native Missourian, but he had come from Kentucky when about ten years of age and had grown up in Missouri, served in the state militia and state legislature, and had practiced law in the State. Arriving in Oregon in 1853, he became a member of the constitutional convention of 1857 and an associate justice of the supreme court in 1868. John Whiteaker who was elected the first civil governor of Oregon, moved from Indiana to Missouri when a young man and worked in Missouri about three years as a carpenter and cabinet maker before going to California in 1849. He returned in 1851 and took his family to Oregon, where he became a farmer and stock raiser. He was a member of the territorial legislature, the first state governor and later a congressman from Oregon. Reuben P. Boise, chief justice of the supreme court of Oregon (1862-64, 1868-70), taught school in Missouri two years before going to Oregon in 1850. He, too, was a member of the territorial legislature and of the state constitutional convention, and was elected circuit judge many times. James H. D. Henderson, a printer of Kentucky, engaged in the newspaper business in St. Louis a while before he went to Oregon in 1853. In 1865, Henderson was elected a congressman-at-large. Jessy Quinn Thornton was another prominent Oregon pioneer. He had been born in what is now West Virginia and after receiving legal training, he opened a law office in Palmyra, Missouri, and also edited a newspaper. Moving to Illinois, he soon went to Oregon, where he became a judge of the supreme court of the provisional government, and later a member of the state legislature, where he did much to promote education.

A few names may be mentioned among those who arrived in Oregon at a later date. Reuben S. Strahan, who became chief justice of the supreme court of Oregon in 1890, was a Kentuckian who had gone to Missouri in 1841 when about six years of age. He was educated in the common schools of

Missouri and admitted to the Missouri bar. He began the practice of law in Kentucky but returned to Milan, Missouri, and became probate judge (1860-1864). Shortly afterward, he moved to Oregon where he was identified with political and judicial life, serving as state senator from 1870 to 1874, and as associate justice of the supreme court in 1886, before he became chief justice. George W. Webb, who was elected the sixth state treasurer of Oregon, was born in Maryland and at the age of eighteen came to Hannibal, Missouri, where he became a tinsmith. Following a brief trip to California in 1850, he engaged in business in Shelbyville, Missouri, for ten years. He went to Oregon in 1865, and was active in public life. Hancock Lee Jackson, acting governor of Missouri in 1857, moved to Salem, Oregon, in 1865 and spent the remaining eleven years of his life there. Arad Comstock Stanley, a native Missouri physician, went to Oregon in 1875 and was one of the pioneers of Jackson county, Oregon. Ben Holladay, who has been mentioned in connection with transportation in California, was also prominent in the development of railroad transportation in Oregon for a time. He organized the California, Oregon, and Mexican Steamship Company, formed the Northern Pacific Transportation Company, and was for a time instrumental in the expansion of the Oregon Central Railroad Company.

Among these early citizens of Oregon who have been mentioned, Missouri claims association with three governors: John L. Whiteaker, George L. Woods, and George Law Curry. Reuben S. Strahan and Reuben P. Boise held the position of chief justice of the supreme court. John Burnett, Peter H. Burnett, John Kelsay, Reuben S. Strahan, and Jessy Quinn Thornton were elected to the supreme court of the state. George Law Curry acted as secretary of the territory and George W. Webb was the sixth treasurer of the state. Twelve of the men discussed were members of the provisional or territorial government or state legislature. Six of these same men were members of the constitutional convention of 1857. Three men, John L. Whiteaker, John R. McBride, and James H. D. Henderson, were members of Congress.

While the settlement of Oregon was taking place, the diplomatic boundary problems and the political question of acquisition of the Oregon Territory were solved. The advocacy of the acquisition of Oregon by two Missouri senators, Lewis F. Linn and Thomas H. Benton, is well known and their work has been commemorated in the naming of two counties in Oregon, Linn and Benton. Lewis F. Linn did more than anyone else to revive and to keep the Oregon issue alive during the years from 1837 to 1843, and as Benton said in his tribute to the memory of Linn, the name of Linn "will live and be connected with Oregon while its banks bear a plant or its water roll a wave." Above all other legislation which Linn supported, Benton gave pre-eminence to the Oregon bill which Linn sponsored. After John Floyd had brought up the Oregon question in Congress in 1820 and it had been debated for a few years, discussion had ceased until Slocum's report of 1837 and petitions of the settlers were presented to Congress and Linn began to introduce his Oregon bills. Linn's bills for settlement contained ample provision for protection of the settlers and for homesteading land in the area between 42° and 54° 40'. In addition to the county, Oregonians have named two towns for Linn, Linnton and Linn City.

Three prominent men of Oregon who have been honored by the *Dictionary of American Biography* were native-born Missourians. Prince Lucien Campbell was born in New Market, Missouri, in 1861, and his family moved to Monmouth, Oregon, in 1869, where his father was president of Christian College. Campbell was educated in this college and at Harvard. At one time in his early career he was employed as reporter for the *Kansas City Star*. Campbell taught ancient languages and pedagogy in the State Normal School at Monmouth and served as president from 1889-1902. In 1902, Campbell became president of the University of Oregon. Henry Theophilus Finck, author and music critic, was born in Shelby county, Missouri. His family moved to Oregon when he was seven and settled in the Aurora settlement of the Bethel (Mo.) colony. Finck attended Harvard and studied abroad. He wrote philosophical articles

for the *Nation* and the *World* and was music critic for the *Nation* for more than forty years. He lectured on music and published a large number of psychological and anthropological works. Thomas Jefferson Howell was born near Pisgah, Cooper county, Missouri, in 1842 and went with his parents to Oregon in 1850. He became a farmer and stock raiser and developed an interest in botany. In 1877, he began to form an herbarium and continued his work, issuing a list of all flowering plants in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. This list was expanded from time to time and in 1903 he published the *Flora of Northwest America*. Howell's education was meager, but his contribution to botanical science was carefully and painstakingly made and botanists in Europe and the United States sought his works. He found fifty new species and is said to have been the first to discover the weeping spruce, a coniferous tree.

Nine native-born Missourians were found in Volume XIX (1936-37) of *Who's Who in America*. Five of these men are educators: Frederick Maurice Hunter, chancellor of the University of Oregon; Thomas William Bibb, president of Albany College; Walter Redford, president of Southern Oregon State Normal School; J. Lyman Steed, superintendent of the Oregon State School for the Deaf; and Earnest Van Court Vaughn, associate professor of history, Oregon State College. Two well-known clergymen, Thomas Lamb Eliot (now deceased) and William Greenleaf Eliot, together with Franklin Paradise Johnson (anatomist and urologist) and Anne Shannon Monroe (author) complete the list. Six of this group are not only native sons of Missouri but were educated in Missouri colleges.

WASHINGTON

Only 394 native Missourians were present in the Territory of Washington in 1860, according to the first United States census report of the Territory. At that time, the majority of the immigrants who had gone to the Oregon country had settled within the boundaries of the state of Oregon. By 1870, the number of Missourians had slightly more than

doubled. Thereafter the increase in Missourians was rapid for a number of years. The number of native Missourians in Washington in 1880 tripled that in 1870. By 1890, it was almost four times the number in 1880, and in 1910 the number present in 1900 had more than doubled. The increase has not been quite so great since then.

The story of the early contacts between Washington and Missouri parallels the account given with regard to Oregon. It has not been possible to find additional information concerning the individuals associated with the early settlement and government of Washington. Lewis Dent, one of the Missouri settlers in California, was at one time a lawyer in Washington. John R. McBride, who has been discussed, became a leading lawyer of Spokane, Washington. George N. McConaha came to Seattle from Missouri by way of California on the advice of Senator Thomas H. Benton, and his second daughter has been said to have been the first white child born in Seattle. He was president of the convention which petitioned for the division of Oregon and was a member of the territorial council. W. Baxter Renshaw, a native-born Missourian and pioneer merchant, went from Oregon to Walla Walla in 1867. Louis F. Hart, governor of Washington from 1920 to 1925, was born in Missouri and was admitted to the Missouri bar. He practiced law in Washington in the late eighties and died shortly after his term as governor expired. Charles H. Leavy, who is at present representative from the 5th district of Washington, was born in Pennsylvania but was educated and reared in Missouri. He also taught three years in the public schools of Missouri. Robert W. Jones, professor of journalism at the University of Washington since 1920, is a native of Missouri. He was educated in the public schools of Missouri and the University of Missouri, and began his newspaper career in Missouri.

Perusal of the *Dictionary of American Biography* discloses four native Missourians who attained prominence in Washington. James Allen Smith, political scientist, was born at Pleasant Hill, Missouri, and attended school in Kansas City, the University of Missouri, and the University of Michigan. He practiced law in Kansas City for a time. In

1897, he became professor of political science at the University of Washington and remained in that position until his death. He was dean of the graduate school, however, from 1909 to 1912. Smith was also active in politics, although he refused to run for office. William Jasper Spillman, scientist and agricultural economist, was born in Lawrence county, Missouri. He was educated in Missouri and taught in the state normal schools of Missouri and Oregon and also at Vincennes University. In 1894, he was made a member of the faculty of Washington State College. The many contributions which Spillman made to agricultural science and farm management are well known. Perhaps the greatest achievement which he made for Washington was his development of hybrid varieties of wheat which are now widely grown in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. George Turner, who was identified with Washington in many ways, was born in Edina, Missouri, in 1850. His formal education was meager but he studied law in Alabama and was admitted to the Alabama bar in 1870. In 1876, Turner was appointed United States marshal for the middle and southern district of Alabama and he was chief of the Alabama delegation in the Republican convention of 1880. By 1885, he had become an associate justice of the supreme court of Washington, and in 1888 he was a member of the constitutional convention. He was widely known as a constitutional lawyer and was owner of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, United States senator from Washington (1897-1903), a member of the Alaskan boundary tribunal and International Boundary Commission, and council for the United States in the northeastern fisheries dispute before the International Boundary Commission. Hugh Campbell Wallace, financier, politician, and diplomat of Washington, was born in Lexington, Missouri, and attended the common schools there. In the later eighties, he went to Tacoma, Washington, and began his commercial career. He became identified with banking, real estate, steamship transportation, and mining and became one of the most influential financiers of the northwest. He refused nominations for governor and United States senator, yet took an active part in Democratic presidential campaigns. He was an unofficial adviser of

President Woodrow Wilson and made confidential visits to European countries for President Wilson. He was appointed ambassador to France in 1919 and he acted as the American representative at the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris. The French government honored him with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. In 1927, he was the American representative in the International Academy of Diplomacy and in 1930, president of the Foch National Memorial.

Who's Who in America for 1936-37 contains biographies of thirteen native Missourians who have become associated with Washington. Among these are three journalists: Royal Brougham (St. Louis, Mo.), editor of the *Post-Intelligencer* of Seattle; Nelson Wayne Durham (Atchison county, Mo.), editorial writer for the Spokane *Spokesman Review*; and Paul Neill (Joplin, Mo.), editor of the Yakima *Morning Herald*. There are two college professors on the list: Elmer Verne Ellington (Peru, Mo.), professor of dairy husbandry at the State College of Washington, vice-dean of the college of agriculture, and assistant director of the experiment station. Edward Franklin Gaines (Avalon, Mo.) has been professor of genetics in agronomy in the State College of Washington since 1930. Edgar Ames, ship builder, was born in St. Louis, Missouri. Morris Allen Arnold, banker, was born at Mexico, Missouri, and began his career as a banker there. Frank Thomas Bell, United States Commissioner of Fisheries, was educated in the public schools of Missouri. Erval Richard Coffey (Kansas City, Mo.) has been state director of health in Washington since 1933. Overton Gentry Ellis (Nodaway county, Mo.), judge, practiced law in Missouri for some years before going to Tacoma, Washington. He served as chief justice of the supreme court of Washington from 1917 to 1919 and then continued in private practice, was active in civic affairs and a member of the judicial council of the State of Washington. Oliver David Fisher (Orleans, Mo.) has been a flour and food manufacturer in Washington and was a member of President Hoover's Economic Conference in 1932. Elijah Sherman Grammer (Hickory county, Mo.), logger, lumberman, and financier, filled an unexpired term as United States senator from Washington. David

Vernon Morthland (Warren, Mo.), has practiced law in Missouri and Washington and is connected with numerous financial companies. He has spent several terms in the state senate of Washington.

(To be continued)

RED-LETTER BOOKS RELATING TO MISSOURI

Edwards's Great West and Her Commercial Metropolis, Embracing a General View of the West, and a Complete History of St. Louis, from the Landing of Ligueste, in 1764, to the Present Time; with Portraits and Biographies of Some of the Old Settlers, and Many of the Most Prominent Business Men. By Richard Edwards and M. Hopewell, M. D. Splendidly Illustrated. (St. Louis: Published at the Office of "Edwards's Monthly," a Journal of Progress [1860]).

It was in 1858 that Richard Edwards, then a publisher in St. Louis, began to gather material for the first comprehensive history of St. Louis. By February 15, 1859, the work was far enough advanced to lead the *Missouri Republican* to lend a bit of editorial encouragement. "Mr. Edwards has employed a corps of efficient reporters," commented the newspaper. "These gentlemen are now engaged in canvassing the city, and the officers of our public institutions, corporate companies, and all firms and citizens of the state, by giving attention to, and answering their inquiries, will not only assist Mr. Edwards in his great and useful enterprise, but will materially subserve their own interests."

Originally planned to cover not only St. Louis, but the State, and even the entire Western country as well, the embarrassing wealth of material gathered soon forced certain practical modifications. In the eccentricity of its final arrangement, the book suffered from this change of plan.

In December, 1859, the *Republican*, having stimulated interest in the proposed book by intermittent items throughout the year, explained that the delay in its publication was caused by the fact that "a mass of papers from private sources has been kindly furnished, which were not believed to be in existence. The materials for the history of our great

city were fast drifting into oblivion, and in a few more years there would only have been left a few musty records and the uncertain information handed down by tradition, which would furnish at best mere twilight information."

By the first of June, 1860, the book was published and selling briskly. The newspapers listed among the subscribers: George R. Taylor, ten copies at ten dollars each; J. J. Anderson, ten at ten dollars; L. H. Laffin, twenty at five dollars; W. E. Ewing, five at ten dollars; James Christy, five at five dollars; B. W. Alexander, five at ten dollars; Warne, Cheever & Co., thirty at five dollars.

The local reviewers were equally generous in the matter of praise. "After examining the contents of the above work," wrote a critic in the *Republican* of June 5, "we seriously doubt whether the history of any city or country has ever been more thoroughly written or the past been more successfully made to give up its treasures for present information." Could Herodotus himself have asked for a more comprehensive endorsement?

It is true that the historical portion of the book, written while the events described were still fresh in living memories, remains the most vivid account of them. A paragraph in the preface shows the extent to which the authors relied upon the recollections of pioneer St. Louisans:

To Madam Elizabeth Ortes, the only one living who recollects the founder of St. Louis, Pierre Laclede Liguist, we are under lasting obligations. She is the only living record of the early time of this city, and on every occasion was happy to answer our inquiries, and furnish us, from the ample storehouse of a memory garnering incidents for nearly a century, interesting narratives and anecdotes. To Madame Yament, James G. Soulard, Dr. Robert Simpson, Henry Von Phul, Jean Baptiste Hortez, some of them born in St. Louis, and all of them, with but one exception, past the three score and ten years allotted to human existence, we likewise tender our thanks for contributing much that was necessary for our purpose; and to Nathaniel Paschall, Colonel Charles Keemle, Augustus Kerr, and others, whose names are *legion*, we cheerfully and gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness for invaluable facts.

Incidentally, Madame Ortes was the same age as the city of her adoption, having been born Elizabeth Barada at Fort Vincennes in 1764. She was brought to St. Louis in

1768, married Jean B. Ortes in 1778, and survived him for more than half a century, dying in 1867.

In make-up *Edwards's Great West* is sheer bibliographical anarchy. The preface starts arbitrarily on page 53. An introduction, a table of contents, and a short chapter giving "A general view of the Great West" follow. This chapter, opening with Braddock's defeat and then cutting back to Father Marquette, is an oddity in historical condensation. It is followed by a group of biographical sketches void of any scheme of arrangement. Then comes a "History of the Various Journals that have been Published in St. Louis." More short biographies follow, and finally, on page 238, the history of St. Louis begins, continuing to page 418, after which the sketches are resumed. An appendix of notes and statistical information follows, and on page 604 the volume formally ends. Informally, however, it continues with an announcement of a second volume and thirty-one pages of engraved illustrations of St. Louis mercantile establishments, as a sort of pre-view. Evidently the Civil War numbered the proposed volume among its casualties, and much valuable biographical material was lost.

Profusely illustrated with portraits and other engravings, *Edwards's Great West* is a local history of prime importance. Its poor arrangement should not obscure the fact that it is an entertaining and reliable pioneer history.

Obviously well known in their day, practically nothing is now on record concerning Richard Edwards or Doctor Menra Hopewell, the authors of *Edwards's Great West*. A publisher of city directories and similar works, Richard Edwards apparently lived in many cities without becoming identified with any of them. I first find him listed as the publisher of a city directory of Richmond, Virginia, and of a statistical gazetteer. This was in 1855-56. In the latter year he also published a gazetteer of Maryland bearing a Baltimore imprint. Working west, he published directories in Pittsburgh and Louisville. In 1858 he came to St. Louis, soon thereafter taking over the publishing of the city directory from the R. V. Kennedy Company. His other local publications included *Edwards' Monthly*, "a journal of Western

progress," from 1859 to 1861; the daily *People's Press*, "a daily journal, independent in politics and religion," which ran its course in 1860; *The People's Weekly Press*, "an Excelsior family newspaper"; and *Edwards' Western Almanac* for 1860. Evidently the Civil War abruptly ended these enterprises. In 1859 and 1860 Edwards issued the directories of St. Louis, retaining the Kennedy imprint. After an interval of three years, he resumed their publication under his own firm name, continuing from 1864 to 1872, in which year Gould also issued a directory, wherein he acidly listed Edwards as a resident of Chicago. In his own directories Edwards had given local hotel addresses, indicating that he never established a permanent residence in St. Louis. His publishing house was for many years at the southwest corner of Broadway and St. Charles Street. William A. Greenough, Jr., and Andrew J. De Vod were at one time associated with him in the publishing business.

If the life of Richard Edwards is elusive, that of his co-author, Doctor Menra Hopewell, is mysterious. The St. Louis directories list him as a physician from 1858 to 1860, with an office in his residence at 290 Chestnut street. In those years he also prepared the reports of the fairs of the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association. About this time he wrote *Legends of the Missouri and Mississippi*. It was first published by Beadle and the sketches included have the authentic dime novel flavor. I have not been able to locate a copy of this original edition. In 1874 it was issued by Ward, Lock, and Tyler in London. On the title-page of this edition Hopewell is credited with the authorship of a life of De Witt Clinton. In 1861 he published a pamphlet entitled *Camp Jackson: History of the Missouri Volunteer Militia of St. Louis*. When the publication of the city directories was resumed in 1864, after a lapse of three years, Hopewell had passed from the local scene. Like many of these Bedouins of literature in the pioneer West, his trail is now too dim to follow.—Contributed by Clarence E. Miller, Assistant Librarian, St. Louis Mercantile Library Association.

MISSOURI AND MISSISSIPPI RIVER SHORE LINES IN MISSOURI

Missouri, bounded on one side by the Mississippi river and traversed by the Missouri river, has some fourteen hundred (1431) miles of shore line along these two rivers. The Missouri river shore line of 886 miles is more extensive than that of the Mississippi river shore of 545 miles. Saline county, with 73 miles, has the longest shore line of any county bordering the Missouri river, while St. Charles county is second with 63 miles. Together with the mileage along both the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, St. Charles county ranks first with 104 miles and St. Louis county second with 91 miles. Mississippi county, with 68 miles, has the longest Mississippi river shore line and Jefferson county ranks second along the Mississippi river with a shore line of 56 miles. These figures are based upon measurements computed by the Department of Geological Survey and Water Resources of the State of Missouri under the direction of H. A. Buehler, state geologist.

In measuring and tabulating the mileage of both the Missouri and Mississippi rivers which border each county Mr. Buehler said:

This information has been taken from the best maps available, and the measurements have been made along the side of the river adjacent to the county.

It must be remembered that both of these rivers are continually shifting their courses and therefore these figures may change in the future. I might say that in certain places along both streams the river does not now follow the present accepted county line which was originally established in the center of the bed of the river at that time. In some instances the boundary differs markedly from the present river bed¹

Mr. Buehler has compiled the following statistics at the request of the State Historical Society of Missouri:

¹Letter of May 26, 1938.

MILEAGE OF THE MISSOURI AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS ALONG THE
SHORE LINES OF MISSOURI COUNTIES

<i>Missouri River</i>		<i>Mississippi River</i>	
Atchison.....	33 mi.	Clark.....	10 mi.
Holt.....	51 "	Lewis.....	22 "
Andrew.....	10 "	Marion.....	22 "
Buchanan.....	38 "	Ralls.....	9 "
Platte.....	47 "	Pike.....	39 "
Clay.....	35 "	Lincoln.....	21 "
Jackson.....	42 "	St. Charles.....	41 "
Ray.....	33 "	St. Louis.....	46 "
Lafayette.....	43 "	Jefferson.....	56 "
Carroll.....	36 "	Ste. Genevieve.....	32 "
Chariton.....	23 "	Perry.....	40 "
Saline.....	73 "	Cape Girardeau.....	27 "
Howard.....	40 "	Scott.....	23 "
Cooper.....	30 "	Mississippi.....	68 "
Boone.....	37 "	New Madrid.....	50 "
Moniteau.....	16 "	Pemiscot.....	39 "
Cole.....	29 "		
Callaway.....	38 "	Total.....	545 mi.
Osage.....	22 "		
Montgomery.....	13 "		
Gasconade.....	15 "		
Warren.....	31 "		
Franklin.....	43 "		
St. Charles.....	63 "		
St. Louis.....	45 "		
Total.....	886 mi.		

THE "NEW THEORY" OF CAPTAIN JOHN CLEVES SYMMES
(1790-1829)¹

LIGHT GIVES LIGHT, TO LIGHT DISCOVER—"AD INFINITUM"

ST. LOUIS, (Missouri Territory,)

North America, April 10, A. D.

1818

TO ALL THE WORLD!

I declare the earth is hollow, and habitable within; containing a number of solid concentrick spheres, one within the other, and that it is open at the

¹The State Historical Society of Missouri is indebted to Professor Ray W. Irwin of the department of history, Washington Square College, Washington Square, New York, for the preceding broadside which he found preserved in the Columbia University collection of the DeWitt Clinton manuscripts. The

poles 12 or 16 degrees; I pledge my life in support of this truth, and am ready to explore the hollow, if the world will support and aid me in the undertaking.

Jno. Cleves Symmes

Of Ohio, late Captain of Infantry.

N. B.—I have ready for the press, a Treatise on the principles of matter, wherein I show proofs of the above positions, account for various phenomena, and disclose *Doctor Darwin's Golden Secret*.

My terms are the patronage of this and the new worlds.

Mercantile Library of St. Louis and the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, each have a copy of this early Missouri imprint.

Captain John Cleves Symmes, who conceived the theory of concentric spheres regarding the nature of the earth, was a nephew of John Cleves Symmes, the pioneer colonizer in Ohio, and is said to have been born in New Jersey about 1790. In 1804, he joined the United States army and served at frontier posts for the most part. After the war of 1812, Symmes resigned from the army and is believed to have settled in St. Louis where he received a license from the government to supply the frontier army posts and trade with the Indians. The exact length of his residence in Missouri has not been definitely determined. In 1812, his name appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of April 4, 1812, in a list of unclaimed letters in St. Louis. His name appeared again in a similar list in the *St. Louis Enquirer* of April 7, 1819. He seems to have been in St. Louis in 1816 and also in 1818, when the above broadside was written. Other information on the life of Symmes in Missouri has not been found.

Symmes left Missouri some time after publishing the broadside in 1818 and went to Newport, Kentucky. From there he moved to Hamilton, Ohio, in 1824, though he must have been in Ohio for a time at least, as early as 1820.

The *Missouri Intelligencer* of June 25, 1825, referred to the Hamilton (Ohio) *Advertiser*, which had published the statement that Symmes had accepted the offer of the Emperor of Russia made through Count Romanzoff, inviting him to undertake a North Polar expedition under the patronage of that enlightened monarch. The *Advertiser* was quoted as saying, "should this expedition prove successful, what reflections may be justly cast upon our Government." The *Intelligencer* was of the opinion that only time would determine "whether he will be able to find those underground folks he has so enthusiastically spoken of."

At the time the *Missouri Intelligencer* mentioned Symmes, he was appealing to Governor DeWitt Clinton and other prominent eastern men for assistance. From examination of the letters to Clinton in the Clinton manuscript collection, Professor Irwin found that one of Symmes' friends and supporters, Thomas S. Hinde of Newport, Kentucky, wrote to Clinton that although the Captain was considered to be "an enthusiast; so was Columbus—and Newton—this is the only particular subject in which his mind appears to run in a channel different from other men . . ." The 'new theory' had "unquestionably excited much attention." Hinde also stated Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell had promised to be of whatever service possible to Symmes in giving the latter a full hearing in scientific circles. In one of his letters to Clinton, Symmes assured the governor that the 'new theory' was one "on which countless ensuing ages may, on its being found correct, perpetually dwell with enthusiastic ardor."

John Wells Peck (in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, January, 1909, pp. 28-42) investigated the attempts to prove Symmes' theory and found only one expedition which may have been undertaken to prove the theory. Symmes spent his time from 1818 to his death in 1829 in expounding and promoting his theory and succeeded in interesting numbers of persons in his theory.

I dedicate to my wife and her ten children.

I select Doctor S. L. Mitchell, Sir H. Davy and Baron Alex. de Humbolt as my protectors.

I ask one hundred brave companions, well equipped, to start from Siberia in the fall season, with Reindeers and slays, on the ice of the frozen sea; I engage to find warm and rich land, stocked with thrifty vegetables and animals if not men, on reaching one degree northward of latitude 82; we will return in the succeeding spring. J. C. S.

TOPICS IN MISSOURI HISTORY

The approaching Golden Gate International Exposition which will open in San Francisco in February, 1939, has turned the thoughts of Missourians toward their contributions to the development of the West. The October *Review* presented a bibliography on "Missourians in California" which was limited to titles which may be found in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri. In this issue of the *Review*, the following bibliography includes references containing information on the activities of Missourians in Oregon and Washington limited in the same way as the preceding bibliography and also exclusive of other reference material dealing with these states. Of course, the *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 volumes) and various volumes of *Who's Who in America* furnish valuable information.

MISSOURIANS IN OREGON AND WASHINGTON

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- The Oregon Constitution and Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1857*, ed. by Charles Henry Carey (Salem, 1926).
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DO YOU KNOW, OR DON'T YOU?

That Thomas Clement Fletcher, governor of Missouri from 1865 to 1869, was the first native-born governor of Missouri, the first Republican governor, and one of the first two Republican governors elected in a slave state?

That Missouri (69,420 sq. mi.) is larger in area than England and Wales (58,324 sq. mi.)?

That the country of the "Six Bulls" was the designation applied by Tennesseans to several counties in southwest Missouri (McDonald and Jasper counties among them)? The most generally accepted explanation attributes the

title to six streams in southwest Missouri fed by bubbling springs and described by a hunter (Edmund Jennings) as the "Six Boils." His pronunciation of "Boils" was interpreted as "Bulls."

That five Missourians became major-generals and fifteen Missourians became brigadier-generals in the Confederate army during the Civil War?

That William Clarke Quantrill, the notorious guerilla or Missouri bushwhacker, was not a Missourian? He was born in Ohio, lived in Illinois and Kansas, and died in Kentucky.

That the first schoolmaster of Missouri, Jean Baptiste Truteau (Trudeau), was also an explorer of the Upper Missouri country, having had charge of an exploring party to that region between 1794 and 1796?

That four Missouri counties, Jasper, Newton, Pulaski, and Marion, are named for soldiers prominent in the assault on Savannah, October 9, 1779, during the Revolutionary war? Sergeant William Jasper and Count Pulaski were mortally wounded in the attack. Sergeants Jasper and Newton, with McDonald as well, were comrades in the famous South Carolina regiment led by Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Marion. Sergeant Jasper had previously distinguished himself at the attack on Fort Moultrie, where Sergeant McDonald, for whom McDonald county was named, lost his life.

That Governors Daniel Dunklin and Trusten Polk were the only governors of Missouri who resigned their positions as chief executive of the State? Dunklin became surveyor-general for Missouri, Illinois, and Arkansas shortly after his resignation. Polk was elected United States senator to succeed Henry S. Geyer.

That credit for the first book published in Missouri has been given Governor Frederick Bates, who compiled *The Laws of the Territory of Louisiana* published in St. Louis in December, 1808?

That in St. Louis, the year 1788 was known as "the year of the ten boats" because upon one occasion ten barges arrived together at St. Louis?

That Fort Smith, Arkansas, was so named in honor of General Thomas A. Smith, prominent army officer and land office receiver during the territorial and early statehood days of Missouri? General Smith was commander of the Ninth Military Department of the United States and arranged for the erection of a fort, the site of which had been suggested by Major Stephen H. Long in 1817. Major Long suggested the name "Belle Point" but Fort Smith was adopted. The fort was moved about 1837 or 1838 and the town of Fort Smith was founded upon the second site.

VERSE IN THE MISSOURI PIONEER PRESS

POETRY

Mr. Editor,

Please to insert! the following and oblige a

Subscriber,

From the Ladies Miscellany

KENTUCKY PHRASES¹

As sound as a nut o'er the plain,
I of late whistled chuck full of glee!
A stranger to sorrow and pain,
As happy as happy could be.

As plump as a partridge I grew,
My heart being lighter than cork:
My slumbers were calmer than dew,
My body fatter than pork.

¹Although the above verse apparently was not of Missouri origin, it was read by pioneer readers of the *Louisiana Gazette* (later the *Missouri Gazette*) and the phrases expressed therein were not used in Kentucky alone.

Thus happy I hop'd I should pass,
Slick as grease down the current of time;
But pleasures are brittle as glass,
Although as a fiddle they're fine.

Jemima, the pride of the vale,
Like a top nimbly danc'd o'er our plains:
With envy the lasses were pale—
With wonder stood gazing the swains.

She smil'd like a basket of chips,
As tall as a May-pole her size—
As sweet as muskmelon her lips—
As bright as buttons her eyes.

Admiring I gaz'd on her charms,
My peace that would trouble so soon,
And thought not of danger nor harm,
Any more than the man in the moon.

But now to my sorrow I find,
Her heart is as hard as a brick!
To my passion forever unkind,
Though of love I am full as a tick.

I sought her affection to win,
In hope of obtaining relief:
Till I, like a hatchet grew thin,
And she, like a beetle grew deaf.

I late was as fat as a doe,
And playful and spry as a cat,
But now I am dull as a hoe,
And as lean and as weak as a rat.

Unless the unpitiful fates,
With passion as ardent will cram her:
As certain as death or by kates
I shall soon be dead as a hammer.

From the *Louisiana Gazette*, May 2, 1811.

FOR THE INTELLIGENCER

The machinations of the "Opposition" defeated.¹

Stop honest muse, and don't refuse
To hear my exposition,
Of those whose names and humble fames,
Compose the "Opposition."

You know John Q. sits in the pew:
The highest in the nation;
Then little Hen. sits with his pen,
In the next higher station.

Old Andrew Jack. the Southern quack,
You know is clad in trouble;
Because John Quin. succeeded him,
In the Presidential struggle.

"Now," says old And. to his furious band
"We'll 'pose the Administration;
"Then elected I, shall be by'n by
"The sovereign of the nation."

"Then Benton I, will make you my
"Exalted secretary,
"To make records of my great wars,
"I'll beat Washington or Perry."

"And you, dear John, if you'll go on
"And head the 'Opposition,'
"Your reward shall be, to go to sea
"On a glorious foreign mission."

Randolph upbraids—McDuffie aids,
They foist accusation,
Against the sway of Henry Clay;
Kremer makes publication.

Henry the great, maintains his seat,
Demands a disquisition;
Kremer, poor soul, denies the whole,
And owns his false position.

¹This opposition to Jackson and his followers was published in the heart of the region in which the Whig party in Missouri became strong just as the Jackson group was solidifying in Missouri. The predictions of the unidentified "Curtius" were not fulfilled, for Andrew Jackson was elected President in 1828.

Now we have seen, the sordid scheme,
Which old Hickory's taken,
Thinking to beat the next four mile heat,
But alas! he'll be mistaken.

Likewise is John,* also quite wrong,
So—also is McDuffie,
For though they toil on Adams' soil,
They'll find Clay in Kentucky.

I'm sorry for, the poor Cat's paw,**
Which these Monkeys have destroy'd;
Pulling the nut, for them to glut—
Poor Puss—he was decoyed.

I must desist—but the truth is this,
Jackson's INAUGURATION,
Cannot be while the people smile,
On just Administration.

CURTIOUS.

*Of Roanoke.

**Kremer.

From the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, November
16, 1827.

ON PEACE.³

All hail glorious peace true messenger of love,
Divine thy descent from the bright realms above,
Thy glory proclaim'd round Columbia's wide shores;
All hearts fill'd with praise, the true GOD let's adore.
The banners of war will be furl'd on the sea,
Our rights be rector'd and our trade will be free;
Nor protection no more the savage shall find,
Their interest will force them the war to decline.
'Ere long will be seen in our ports, on our seas,
Ships fill'd with rich commerce, true ensigns of peace,

³The pleasure of Missourians in the conclusion of peace between the United States and Great Britain in 1815 is well expressed in the above poem. The interest of this St. Charles citizen in the commerce of the United States and in the hoped-for cessation of Indian depredations reflected the opinion of the Westerners of the time, and the emphasis upon agriculture and manufacturing, together with diplomatic principles of isolation which he expressed, typified the extravagant pride of the Westerner in his spacious and free land which could be an asylum for the politically oppressed.

Then traffic will flourish, all trades find employ,
Brisk found shall be heard from the hammer and saw.
Agriculture we'll encourage, for true it is said,
That all do depend on the farmer for bread,
The axe well apply'd, the spade, hoe & plough
Will our country enrich more than mines of Peru.
Manufacturing too, in our states shall not cease,
We've cotton and flax; and Merino's fine fleece.
These will supply our brisk loom and the spindle.
Our sons in the arts; and deep science shall gain.
As sunbeams increase from pale morn to bright noon,
While genius and humor with the graces attend,
To heighten the charms of the fair of our land.
No wars we'll engage in for glory to gain,
But heav'n will inspire us our rights to maintain,
And spurn from our land the tyrant who dare,
Unhallow'd to tread on Columbia's free shore.
Our laws they are just, our climate is mild,
Well paid is the farmer who ploughs our rich soil,
Extensive our country, much lands we can spare
Th' oppress'd shall e'er find a safe asylum here.
Here FREEDOM'S great goddess unfaken shall rest,
And a thousand years hence reign queen of the west.

E. A.

St. Charles county.

From the *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, April 1, 1815.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

275 NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

JUNE, 1938—NOVEMBER, 1938

During the six months from June, 1938, to November, 1938, inclusive, 275 applications for membership were received by the Society. The present total of annual members is 2,322. The Society continues to hold first rank in membership among state historical societies in the United States.

The 275 new members are:

Adams, Eaton, Kansas City	Bodine, Mary Ann, Kansas City
Albrecht, William, St. Joseph	Bonfoey, B. L., Kirksville
Allen, Birt S., Bethany	Boschertown School, St. Charles
Allen, Fred D., Maplewood	Breckenridge, E. H., (Mitchell School), Smithville
Allison, John A., Rolla	Breuer, Leo, Rosati
Alton High School Library, Alton	Broadlick, John N., Kansas City
Arnold, Doris, North Kansas City	Brody, Samuel, Columbia
Austin, Deedie-May, St. Joseph	Bundy, I. R., St. Joseph
Bachs, Laura, Foristell	Burke, Harry R., St. Louis
Baker, Mrs. Nell, St. Joseph	Burneson, Alma L., St. Louis
Baldwin School, Peruque	Byars, Dorothy M., Kirkwood
Ballinger, William, Kansas City	Byrum, Paul R., Kansas City
Ballak, Frank J., St. Louis	Calkins, Mrs. Benton M., St. Joseph
Bamber, Laurene, Maplewood	Callis, Mrs. Ella W., St. Joseph
Banta, Parke M., Arcadia	Campbell, Barnard, Stockton
Barnes, Lakenan, Mexico	Campbell, J. L., Carthage
Barnett, William C., St. Louis	Cape Girardeau Public Library, Cape Girardeau
Barrow, Cave, Elvins	Chippis, Mrs. Julia E., St. Joseph
Bass, Sigmund M., St. Louis	Clevengor, Homer, Columbia
Bauer, Catherine, Hamburg	Cobb, Mable M., Kansas City
Bedal, Wm. S., St. Louis	Cook, Mrs. Jerome E., St. Louis
Beeson, Ben, Columbia	Cool Spring School, O'Fallon
Bentley, R. T., Glasgow	Cox, H. Charles, Rock Port
Benton Jr.-Sr. High School, St. Joseph	Croell, Sterling G., Lilbourn
Bernard, Mrs. Paul M., Potosi	Cunningham, Marie C., St. Louis
Berndt, Julius, St. Louis	Dardenne School Dist. 52, O'Fallon
Bierman, Norman, St. Louis	Davis, Mary E., St. Louis
Birkhead, Anna, Kansas City	Deming, F. K., St. Louis
Bluff Spring School Dist., Hamburg	Devereux, John, St. Louis
Blythe, James C., St. Louis	

- Dickmann, Sister Adelia, St. Louis
 Dix, John P., Kansas City
 Dolch, Isabel S., University City
 Donovan, W. X., St. Joseph
 Douglas, Marjory, St. Louis
 Dryden, Dora, Cottleville
 Duncan, Richard M., St. Joseph
 Edwards, C. F., St. Joseph
 Edwards, Henry, Crane
 Edwards, Sara Elizabeth, St. Charles
 Effrein, Edward B., Farmington
 Elder, William Lloyd, Independence
 Eskridge, Elsie Lee, Platte City
 Evans, Anne M., University City
 Evans, Ray T., Eldorado Springs
 Fable, Frank, Boonville
 Feldewerth, Frieda, Wentzville
 Ferris, Ruth, St. Louis
 Finley, Ralph T., St. Louis
 Fisher, Mary W., Marshall
 Fisher, Nadine, Marshall
 Fitzmaurice, Grace, St. Louis
 Forbea, Cornelia A., St. Louis
 Forder, Mrs. W. C., St. Louis
 Forney, Chester G., Columbia
 Fourt, Lyman E., Chicago, Illinois
 Freesmeier, F. C., St. Louis
 Garner, E. B., St. Louis
 Gauldin, Martin, Marshall
 Geary, Fred, Carrollton
 Glover, Dale, Dadeville
 Gray, George, St. Joseph
 Greer, Geo. S., Hample
 Gresham, Lois E., Springfield
 Gresham, Minnie, Carthage
 Grimm, Mrs. Charles L., Swan
 Grimm, Horace F., St. Louis
 Griner, A. J., Kansas City
 Guinn, Gerry, Milan
 Gunderson, Dora J., New York City
 Hamlett, Mayme Lucille, West Plains
 Hampleman, Richard S., E. St. Louis, Ill.
 Hanley Jr. High School, University City
 Hanley, Wayne, Kansas City
 Hanssen, John, Napoleon
 Harman, R. V., Kansas City
 Harris, C. J., Ferguson
 Hart, Elvera, Holcomb
 Harvey, Keturah E., Kansas City
 Haverstick, Edward E., St. Louis
 Hayden, Fabiola, O'Fallon
 Haysler, Mrs. M. H., Clinton
 Heimbacher, Henry, St. Louis
 Helbig, Emily Mai, St. Louis
 Hiatt, Mary Farr, Kansas City
 Hicks, John Edward, Kansas City
 Higgins, H. A., Lowry City
 Hilebard, Mrs. Mary Zook, Kansas City
 Hirsch, Rudolph, Kansas City
 Holland, Mrs. Lon E., Independence
 Holt, R. W., Jefferson City
 Honig, Louis O., Kansas City
 Hopkins, W. B., Tampa, Florida
 Horn, Belle D., Marceline
 Horton, Annie Denison, St. Joseph
 Hottel, Venta, Seneca
 Hough, G. E., Carthage
 Howard, Stanley, Jefferson City
 Huff, Lottie M., St. Louis
 Humphreys, Mossie, Flat River
 Hulse, Mrs. Clarence, Galena
 Huselton, Howard E., Kansas City
 Huss, Miss G., Farmington
 Hutson, Marguerite, Bloomfield
 Johnston, A. Sidney, St. Louis
 Jordan, J. N., Kansas City
 Kasiske, Pearl, Arbela
 Keller, Mrs. J. Oliver, Columbia
 Kennerly, Claude Saugrain, St. Louis
 Keyes, Chet A., Kansas City
 King, Mrs. Lettie Reed, Maitland
 Kingsbury, Mrs. Horace M., New Franklin
 Kinney, Michael, Jefferson City
 Kisse, Teller, Crane
 Knight, Homer L., Leadwood
 Kuhl, Jacob, St. Louis
 Lambrechts, Clara, St. Louis

- Lauderback, Kenneth, Springfield
 Lawlor, Margaret M., St. Joseph
 Lawlor, Mattie, St. Joseph
 Lee, Bert S., Springfield
 Leeper, William L., St. Joseph
 Leslie, Leroy C., Sikeston
 Levy, Judith, St. Louis
 Lewis, Joseph W., Jr., Clayton
 Lewis, Lloyd, Chicago, Ill.
 Lienhard, I. H., Slater
 Link, Charles F., Kirksville
 Lockett, James D., Columbia
 Loewenstein, Bert, St. Louis
 Loftin, Allen, Shell Knob
 Lottes, E. M., Altenburg
 Lyman, Mrs. J. W., Kansas City
 Lynch, Florence, Springfield
 McCain, Jane, Potosi
 McClure, Katherine, Kirkwood
 McCollam, Andrew, Ellendale, Louisiana
 McGinley, C. T., Columbia
 McGlothlan, Mrs. A. B., St. Joseph
 McGregor, Marguerite, Columbia
 McGuire, Mrs. Charlotte, Marshall
 McIntyre, Warren O., Mexico
 McKee, James S., Kansas City
 McPheeters, Frances, St. Louis
 Maring, Wilbur F., Jr., Carthage
 Marshall High School Library, Marshall
 Martin, C. R., Hannibal
 Mauch, Minnie, Marshall
 Mayfield, Nellie A., St. Louis
 Meierhoffer, Walter, St. Joseph
 Millar, Robert S., St. Joseph
 Mills, Ann C., St. Louis
 Missouri Resources Museum, Jefferson City
 Moss, J. B., St. Joseph
 Muck, Philomene, Troy
 Mulholland, Grace, St. Louis
 Mullinax, Mrs. Anna D., St. Louis
 Mullinax, Orr, St. Joseph
 Murrell, Mrs. Lulu Lamkin, Marshall
 National Society, Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, Washington, D. C.
 Nelson, C. S., Jefferson City
 Neipp, Mary U., St. Joseph
 Newman, Mrs. H. B., Cape Girardeau
 Noel, Jane E., St. Louis
 Nothdurft, Lillian A., Clarkton
 Nuderscher, Frank, St. Louis
 O'Fallon Public Library, O'Fallon
 Oliver, E. A., Richland
 Page, Mrs. C. G., Arrow Rock
 Park, Mrs. Guy B., Platte City
 Parker, Garland, Sikeston
 Pauls, Dorothy J., St. Louis
 Pearce, Louise, Cape Girardeau
 Pearson, Geo., Arrow Rock
 Peatross, J. L., St. James
 Peiffer, Elizabeth, Carthage
 Pelot, Will C., Sweet Springs
 Pepon, Percy, St. Louis
 Peppord, Mrs. J. C., Kansas City
 Peters, Lowell, Crane
 Pirtle, J. M., Rolla
 Pitcairn, Norman B., Clayton
 Poe, Mrs. E. A., St. Joseph
 Popplewell, Frank, St. Joseph
 Post, Winfred L., Joplin
 Reinhardt, Evelyn, St. Louis
 Richeson, S. E., Columbia
 Richmond Heights Public Library, Richmond Heights
 Roberts, Myrtle, Dallas, Texas
 Rodgers, H. D., Benton
 Rollins, Mrs. Mable, Winona
 Ross, P. H., Columbia
 Rowan, Helen T., St. Louis
 Rucker, Drummond C., Springfield
 Ruoff, Carl F., St. Joseph
 Russell, H. H., Warrensburg
 Ryan, Anita, Rosendale
 Ryan, Virginia E., St. Louis
 St. Charles School Dist. No. 64, St. Charles
 St. Peters Public School, St. Peters

Santa Monica Public Library, Santa Monica, California	Troppmann, Emily Ann, Hannibal
Shaw, Elizabeth, Nevada	Truitt, Charles H., Kirksville
Shaw, Frederick W., Richmond, Virginia	Turner, Dale O., Jefferson City
Simmons, Mrs. Oliver B., Kansas City	University of Kansas City, Kansas City
Slater Public Library, Slater	Van Dyke, L. W., Marshall
Smith, Howard M., Rock Port	Van Meter, Ray, Trenton
Smith, Mrs. Wm. L., Savannah	Vawter, Emma A., Marshall
Sparks, Grover C., Savannah	Weiss, Sylvia R., St. Louis
Starnes, Lee, St. Joseph	Welch, Phil J., St. Joseph
Stauf, H. Margaret, Maplewood	Weller, Allen, Columbia
Steidley, Neva M., Savannah	Welty, Rugh, Malden
Stephens, Philip H., Los Angeles, Calif.	Westrup, Arthur W., Webster Groves
Stretz, Charlie, Boonville	White, Ellis, Reeds Spring
Strucksberg, S. Otto, St. Joseph	White, J. M., Kansas City
Sturgeon, P. H., Qulin	Whitesell, Robert, Fulton, Ky.
Swacker, A. W., Sikeston	Whiteside, Henry O., St. Louis
Switzler, Warren, San Diego, Calif.	Wiberg, Ella, Kansas City
Taaffe, Mrs. R., Carthage	Wilson, Dean, Hannibal
Taylor, Leon, Jefferson City	Winkelmaier, Robert C., St. Louis
Thames, Mrs. Hal J., St. Joseph	Winkelman, Mathilda, St. Louis
Timmerman, Douglas H., St. Joseph	Winkler, Mrs. Karl F., Lexington
Tonjes, Gerd, Carthage	Wood, Mabel V., St. Louis
	Yancey, T. L., Marshall
	Youngman, L. Louise, Bethany

MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING THE SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

The following members of the Society have been active in the past six months in increasing its membership: Stephen B. Hunter of Cape Girardeau, eight members; Raymond H. Patterson of Galena, six members; B. H. Jolly of St. Charles, McMillan Lewis of St. Louis, Vesta Wood of Springfield, five members each; W. J. Sewall of Carthage, four members; Waldo P. Johnson of Osceola, Louisa P. Johnston of Kansas City, Elizabeth McReynolds of Jefferson City, E. E. Swain of Kirksville, Roy D. Williams of Boonville, three members each; F. A. Culmer of Fayette, Ben L. Emmons of St. Charles, George Gray of St. Joseph, John F. Rhodes of Lees Summit, Charles L. Wood of Rolla, two members each; Mrs. Paul Bernard of Potosi, E. Lee Dorsett of Webster Groves, E. B. Fulks of California, Selby Hanssen of Kansas City, Henry J. Haskell of Kansas City, Mrs. Eugenia Minor of Hannibal,

Mrs. Susanna Chilton Morris of Santa Monica, California, R. B. Price of Columbia, T. E. Spencer of St. Louis, John J. Sullivan of Osceola, Mrs. Robert S. Withers of Liberty, Clarence E. Wood of Farmington, one member each.

A TRIBUTE FROM AN OUT-OF-STATE MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY

As a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri for a number of years I would like to express a few words of appreciation and commendation of its very excellent historical quarterly. As a teacher of United States history whose field of research is frontier or western history I have found the *Missouri Historical Review* a very substantial and excellent publication, edited and arranged to be of maximum value to teachers and research scholars in the general field of western history as well as to those who are interested in local Missouri history.

At present I am working on a manuscript dealing with trans-Mississippi transportation and have found the *Review*, to be a veritable "gold mine" of information on my project. I wish therefore to express my appreciation of the quarterly and say that I am very glad to be on the Society's membership list.—Harold E. Briggs, head of the department of history and professor of American history, the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, July 9, 1938.

CAPE GIRARDEAU HISTORICAL SOCIETY MAKES PILGRIMAGE

A meeting of the Cape Girardeau County Historical Society was held October 4, 1938, at which time it was decided to make a pilgrimage to points of interest in the northern part of Cape Girardeau county and in the counties of Perry and Ste. Genevieve.

The Society members began their pilgrimage at Jackson, Missouri, on October 25, 1938. The first stop was made at the site of an old water-driven saw mill on Shawnee creek. The group then visited the Ingram tomb and the site of Wilkinson's mill on Apple creek. When they arrived at Altenburg they were welcomed by Rev. Adolph Vogel, Judge Adolph G. Schmidt and A. H. Krahn. In Altenburg they spent an hour

visiting the old seminary building, the church, which was built in 1861, and the two old parochial school houses.

From Altenburg the party went to St. Marys, where they were met by Jules R. Rozier who conducted them to the salt springs on Saline river, and thence to Ste. Genevieve, where they visited the museum and the ancient cemetery. The members then went to Perryville, where the annual dinner and meeting of the Southeast Missouri Federation of Historical Societies was held.

CLAY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HOLDS FALL MEETING

The annual fall meeting of the Clay County Historical Society was held in Liberty, Missouri, on September 5, 1938. Plans for next year were formulated and officers were selected. The officers are Mrs. Robert S. Withers, president; Edgar Laffoon, vice-president; Mrs. Earl Sevier, secretary; Miss Kathryn McKinley, treasurer; and Mrs. Charles A. McConn, historian. Township directors include Mrs. F. K. Justus, John D. Matthews, Spencer Watkins, Mrs. Hugh Pixlee, Mrs. Burton Maltby, and E. E. Davidson. In addition to regular officers, committees and committee chairmen were elected. An extensive school program is planned by the Society for the coming year, including its customary essay contest. In addition schools are being asked to co-operate with Society officers in filling out genealogical records for five generations. The Society is also sponsoring the promotion of increased interest in the study of Missouri history in Clay county schools through membership in the State Historical Society of Missouri and receipt of the *Missouri Historical Review*. The Society will continue its efforts to convert the historic Watkins farm into a State park.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF HOWARD AND COOPER COUNTIES HOLDS MEETINGS

A meeting of the Historical Society of Howard and Cooper Counties was held in the historic Lewis Library in Glasgow, Missouri, on September 21, 1938. L. A. Kingsbury, president of the Society, presided. The chief speaker of the evening

was Mrs. Clyde Porter of Kansas City, who spoke on "Steamboat Days in Glasgow." Mrs. G. W. Renken, costumed in the style of the "steamboat era", read the history of the Lewis family, and a negro men's choir of the Glasgow churches sang a number of spirituals. Following the meeting there was a social hour, and the crowd of about 250 people was invited to inspect the historical exhibits in the old library, which was given to Glasgow in 1866 by Benjamin Lewis. Accounts of the meeting appear in the Boonville *Daily News* of September 21, the Fayette *Democrat-Leader* of September 23, and the Glasgow *Missourian* of September 29, 1938.

Another meeting of the Society was held at the Methodist church in Armstrong, Missouri, on November 11, 1938. Colonel J. B. Barnes, vice-president of the Society and speaker of the evening, gave an account of the Boone's Lick country during the period of settlement and the War of 1812. Mrs. B. I. Lawrence of Fayette, Missouri, read a history of Armstrong, which had been prepared for the meeting by Mr. and Mrs. George Halley. The group was entertained with several musical numbers, and a display of equipment used in the weaving of coverlets in pioneer days was shown. In addition old silver, glassware, books, miniatures, and other objects of historic interest, loaned by residents of Armstrong, were displayed. Following the program there was a social hour attended by about 200 members. Accounts of the meeting appear in the Armstrong *Herald* of November 17, and the Fayette *Advertiser* of November 15, 1938.

The Historical Society of Howard and Cooper Counties is sponsoring an essay contest for grade school groups on the subject "The History of Our District School," with awards ranging from silver cups to certificates of honorable mention. The material must be gathered in a scrapbook, giving sources of information, and prizes will be given for the best work by schools and by individuals. The contest closes on March 1, 1939.

PHELPS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HOLDS CHARTER DINNER

The first charter dinner of the Phelps County Historical Society was held at the Sinclair Pennant Tavern in Rolla, Missouri, on October 6, 1938, with 112 members present. Souvenir programs depicting historic scenes of the early days of Phelps county were distributed. The Reverend O. V. Jackson, director of publicity, presided until the introduction of Colonel Charles L. Woods, president of the Society.

Dr. Clair V. Mann, secretary, opened the program with an address entitled "Why A Phelps County Historical Society?" President Woods then introduced the other speakers, Senator Allen McReynolds of Carthage, president of the State Historical Society, who spoke on the origin of the early settlers of the State, and Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, who spoke on the history and organization of Phelps county.

Senator McReynolds presented to the Phelps County Society a certificate of affiliation as an auxiliary member of the State Historical Society. The certificate was accepted by Colonel Woods.

A number of the guests, under the direction of Mrs. Harriett C. Forbes, were dressed in costumes of the historic past, and an exhibit of old china, glassware and silver was displayed. Accounts of the meeting appear in the *Rolla Herald* of October 13, 1938, and the *Rolla New Era* of October 14, 1938.

ST. CHARLES PRESENTS HISTORICAL PAGEANT

The second annual Pageant of Progress celebration of St. Charles, Missouri, was held in that city on September 8, 9, 10, and 11, 1938. The greatest feature of the celebration was the pageant entitled "The Spirit of Blanchette," presented on three successive nights at Blanchette Park. The pageant, written by Dr. Kate L. Gregg, of Lindenwood College, was divided into ten episodes, beginning with "The Dawn of Time," and continuing through the Indian era, the arrival of Blanchette, the establishment of the Catholic church, the arrival of

Daniel Boone, St. Charles' existence under the French, Spanish and United States flags, the arrival of Lewis and Clark, the War of 1812, the coming of the Germans in the period between 1830 and 1840, and the "Spirit of St. Charles," symbolic of the progress of the city. Characters in the pageant were local citizens. The Reverend Lloyd B. Harmon was pageant chairman, while R. C. Haynes served as general chairman. Other members of the executive committee were Ed. Pundmann, Arthur Baue, Tal Gray, Dr. F. L. Harrington, and Abe L. Hess.

ANNIVERSARY OF MARK TWAIN'S BIRTH OBSERVED AT HANNIBAL

The 103rd anniversary of the birth of Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) was observed at Hannibal, Missouri, on November 30, 1938. The celebration began with a luncheon in the dining room of Mark Twain's boyhood home on Hill street in Hannibal. This is the third annual luncheon sponsored by the Mark Twain Commission. The special guests were Mr. and Mrs. Jervis Langdon of Elmira, New York, and Mr. and Mrs. Floyd C. Shoemaker of Columbia, Missouri. Other persons attending were Mr. D. D. Mahan, president of the Mark Twain Commission, and Mrs. Mahan, Mr. A. J. Mulvihill, mayor of Hannibal, and Mr. Morris Anderson, chairman of the municipal Mark Twain Board and president of the Hannibal Chamber of Commerce.

The guests were seated at a table which was set with china, silver and accessories of the days of Mark Twain's boyhood, and the tablecloth was one which covered the table when Mark Twain dined in Hannibal with the late John A. Garth and family. The menu was arranged by a committee of women members of the Mark Twain Commission. The cover of the souvenir menu bore a portrait of Mark Twain in bas-relief. Later in the afternoon the guests visited the Mark Twain Museum and other places in Hannibal associated with Mark Twain.

In the evening a banquet, attended by 150 persons, was held at the Mark Twain Hotel. D. D. Mahan, son of the late George A. Mahan, presided, and Dr. C. J. Armstrong gave

the invocation. The speakers of the evening were Mr. Jervis Langdon, son of Mark Twain's brother-in-law, an original executor and now co-trustee of the author's estate and a close associate of Mark Twain, and Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Mr. Langdon told many family stories about Mark Twain, most of them never having been published, and read extracts of letters from Mark Twain to his mother-in-law. Mr. Shoemaker spoke of the State Historical Society and its co-operative interest in the success of the Mark Twain Museum and the boyhood home.

THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY MISSOURI SOCIETY

In keeping with the custom of those from other states living in California, Missourians organized a State society many years ago. On coming to California in 1913, my wife, Mrs. Carrie Lee Carter Stokes, and I found that from some cause the Missouri State picnics were not so well attended as were those of other states. Growing tired of this condition, Mrs. Stokes and I, in the fall of 1919, organized the Los Angeles County Missouri Society and in the spring of 1920 held a picnic at Long Beach. Our magazine, *The Golden West*, reproduced pictures of the new and the old State capitol building and carried a story entitled "Missouri The State of Many Rivers." We had an attendance of 7,000.

The most outstanding of all our picnics was that of July, 1921, which had a centennial feature in the form of a street parade and pageant prepared by Mrs. Stokes. This occasion brought an attendance of 12,000, which was followed by the writer taking a delegation of two carloads of former Missourians back to the exposition at Sedalia, and there were more Missourians registered from California than from all the other states combined.

The next special feature, following the adoption of the State flower, was another pageant with a story of the hawthorne by Mrs. Stokes. The badges used were marked with the hawthorne in original colors. We endeavored to keep Missouri in the lead and I think we did. Some years ago we turned the Los Angeles County Society over to others.—Contributed by Mr. Chas. E. Stokes, Los Angeles, California.

SALINE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HOLDS MEETINGS

A special meeting of the Saline County Historical Society was held in Marshall, Missouri, on September 8, 1938. Mr. T. E. Spencer of St. Louis, a former citizen of Marshall, addressed the Society on the proposed Marshall centennial celebration in 1939. Mr. Spencer gave a resume of the historical background of the territory that is now Saline county and discussed the plans and possibilities for the celebration. An account of the meeting and excerpts from Mr. Spencer's address appear in the Marshall *Daily Democrat-News* of September 12, 1938.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Society was held on October 22, 1938 at Stewart Chapel in Marshall, Missouri, with Judge T. H. Harvey, president of the Society, presiding. Dean C. L. Fichthorn gave an organ concert preceding the introduction of the speaker, Dr. Kate L. Gregg, professor of English at Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Missouri.

Dr. Gregg gave an interesting address based on the diary of General William Clark, which covers his trip from St. Louis to establish Fort Osage in 1808. She dealt particularly with his travels through Saline county.

About one hundred people attended the meeting, which was followed by a social hour at Murrell Library. Many historical curios and relics, loaned by members of the society, were on display in the Library. An account of this meeting appears in the Marshall *Daily Democrat-News*, October 24, 1938.

SOUTHEAST MISSOURI FEDERATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES
HOLDS MEETING

The annual meeting of the Southeast Missouri Federation of Historical Societies was held at the Ross hotel in Perryville, Missouri, on October 25, 1938. In the absence of the president, Colonel Clifford Leonori of Ironton, Missouri, Jules R. Rozier of St. Marys, Missouri, presided. Mr. Rozier gave an address on the history of St. Marys and Kaskaskia Island. The meeting was followed by a banquet.

The officers elected for the ensuing year are Mrs. Clarence Andrews of Fredericktown, president; Jules R. Rozier of St. Marys, first vice-president; C. C. Oliver of Bloomfield, second vice-president; Mrs. Minnie Clark Keys of Cape Girardeau, treasurer; and John G. Putz of Jackson, secretary. The next meeting will be held at Bloomfield, Missouri.

OUTSTANDING ACQUISITIONS

Several volumes from the library of the late Henry A. Miller, who died in Memphis, Missouri, on March 13, 1937, were presented to the State Historical Society of Missouri by his son, Judge Franklin Miller, circuit attorney for the city of St. Louis. These were a part of Judge Miller's share of his father's library which was divided among the heirs in accordance with his will, of which the former was executor. The donation was made in accordance with Mr. Henry Miller's wishes as expressed during his lifetime. The volumes are as follows: Lancaster *Excelsior*, 1870-1882, bound in four volumes; the *History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam and Schuyler Counties, Missouri* (1888); Campbell's *Gazetteer of Missouri* (1874); Davis and Durrie's *Illustrated History of Missouri* (1876); *History of Appanoose County, Iowa* (1878); and Stephens' *The War Between the States*.

The above files of the Lancaster *Excelsior* cover the dates of ownership of H. D'B. Cutler, to whom Mr. Miller was apprenticed at the age of twelve, Dysart & Miller, when he and a partner bought the paper in September, 1871, and Henry A. Miller, when he assumed full control in December, 1874. The latter published the paper until about 1883, when he entered the mercantile business. In 1889 he moved to Memphis, Missouri, and continued in this business until retirement about three years before his death at the age of 83.

The *Excelsior* files supplement the Society's previous file which began with Volume 1, Number 1, in 1866, presented by Mr. H. D'B. Cutler many years ago.

The estate of the late Miss Cornelia Keummel, long a resident of Glasgow, Missouri, who died in St. Louis on September 8, 1938, has placed on deposit with the State Historical

Society a miscellaneous collection of Missouri newspapers from the 1860's to 1890's, including an incomplete file of the St. Louis *Westliche Post*. In addition there are seventy-four pieces of music, a number of college catalogues, lodge proceedings, twenty-six manuscript books relating to personal and merchandising accounts, and other miscellaneous publications. Mr. Jack Denny of Glasgow was instrumental in obtaining this collection on deposit, and acknowledgement is made to him for his courtesy and assistance.

Mr. Otto Bayse of Kansas City, Missouri, has presented to the Society a bound volume of the Bowling Green *Post-Observer* for August 9, 1878-July 29, 1880, eight issues of the Louisiana *North-East Missourian* of 1856, and the Louisiana *True Democrat* of December 11, 1860.

Mr. E. A. Wengler of Glasgow, Missouri, has donated three daybooks of the late Jacob Wengler covering the operation of his cabinet and woodworking shop in Glasgow during the period from 1858 to 1880. These were presented through Dr. Lewis Atherton of the history department of the University of Missouri.

Mr. Paul Sapp of Ashland, Missouri, has donated to the Society Ledger B of T. B. Hickman and Company of Columbia, for the period from January, 1886 to January, 1888.

Miss Clara Cowgill of Villisca, Iowa, has presented to the Society a letter seal and wine glasses which belonged to Senator Henry S. Geyer of St. Louis, as well as personal letters written by him to Mrs. Johanna A. Quarles, a young widow of St. Charles, Missouri, whom he later married. In addition were presented a blue enamel snuff box and a small vanity box which were once owned by Senator Geyer's mother.

A volume containing old botanical specimens collected during the gold rush and a topographical map of the gold and quicksilver district of California, dated July 25, 1848, once the property of F. T. Russell, lawyer, member of the board of

curators of the University of Missouri, and resident of Columbia during 1841-1892, has been presented to the Society by the Rev. W. C. Russell of Mexico, Missouri. The elder Mr. Russell, his grandfather, made two trips to California, the first in 1849 and the second during 1850-51.

An autobiographical sketch of Richard Higgins Benton, written at Kansas City November 10, 1912, and recounting his experiences as a Confederate soldier during the Civil war, has been presented to the Society by his son, Carlton R. Benton of Kansas City, Missouri. The elder Mr. Benton lived in Lafayette county, and enlisted in Company I, Elliott's Battalion, Shelby's Brigade.

The Society has received as a gift from Mr. Justus R. Moll, of Jefferson City and Springfield, a photostatic copy of the "Historic Roll of Captain King's Battery, originally known as the Clark Battery, Second Missouri Artillery, Little's Division, Confederate Army," and also a photostatic copy of Joseph M. Day's "Oath of Loyalty" signed in Johnson county, December 13, 1866.

The Society has received as a gift a series of five articles on the life of "Father Joseph Anthony Lutz, Pioneer Priest (1801-1861)," published in the *Central-Blatt and Social Justice* of St. Louis, from April to September, 1938. These were collected in a booklet by the Central Bureau of the Catholic Central Verein of America, which made the presentation to the Society.

The Board of Education of Glasgow, Missouri, School District No. 60, officially presented for deposit eight record books covering the activities of the board during 1877 to 1908. The deposit was made through Dr. Lewis Atherton of the history department of the University of Missouri.

Mr. Richard T. Bentley, president of the Glasgow Savings Bank, Glasgow, Missouri, has placed sixteen volumes of old Glasgow bank records and commercial records dating from 1859

to 1904 in the Society's library on deposit. Dr. Lewis E. Atherton of the history department of the University of Missouri obtained these volumes for safe keeping.

The New Salem Baptist Church, located near Ashland in Boone county, has deposited three volumes of its minutes, covering the periods 1828-1878, 1878-1905, and 1906-1926, with the Society for preservation and historical reference use. The Church also presented three copies of the pamphlet, *One Hundredth Anniversary of New Salem Baptist Church, 1828-1928*, for the Society's files. Mr. Paul Q. Sapp, of Ashland, was instrumental in obtaining this material for deposit with the Society.

Mr. B. R. Graham of Mineola, Missouri, has placed on deposit in the Society's library three old poll books of Danville township, Montgomery county, used in the elections for circuit attorney in November, 1848, for state senator in November, 1848, and in a special election of August, 1851. Mr. Paul Sapp, of Ashland, Missouri, obtained these volumes for the Society.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI OBTAINS FILE OF
MARYLAND GAZETTE, 1745-1820

The University of Missouri Library has recently acquired on microfilm a file of the *Maryland Gazette*, 1745 to 1820. The *Gazette* was established by Jonas Green as a weekly on January 17, 1745, in Annapolis, Maryland. It was edited and published by Green and his descendants throughout the entire period to 1820. It is one of the earliest colonial newspapers of which a complete file exists. Students interested in the social and economic history of colonial America will find in the *Gazette* a mass of invaluable source material. The original is preserved in the Maryland State Library in Annapolis, Maryland.

An Argus microfilm reader, with which the film copy may be read, is available in the University Library. Research students are invited to make use of these facilities.

ANNIVERSARIES

The 100th anniversary of the Law Library Association of St. Louis was observed on September 21, 1938, in St. Louis, with a dinner at which Federal Judge Merrill E. Otis of Kansas City spoke. From the St. Louis *Star-Times*, September 22, 1938.

The First Christian Church of Hannibal, Missouri, celebrated during 1938 the 100th anniversary of the founding of the church at Hannibal. Throughout the year the church had various programs emphasizing the centennial year. A pamphlet, giving the history of the church and its various departments, was issued in connection with the celebration.

The 100th anniversary of the Second Presbyterian Church, 4501 Westminister Place, St. Louis, Missouri, was celebrated from October 16-28, 1938. The church colonized in 1838 from the First Presbyterian Church and was originally located at Fifth and Walnut streets.

Palmyra Chapter No. 2 of the Royal Arch Masons, celebrated the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the chapter on September 21, 1938. The Palmyra Chapter is one of the oldest chapters west of the Mississippi river.—From the Palmyra *Spectator*, September 21, 1938 and the Palmyra *Marion County Standard*, September 21, 1938.

The 90th anniversary of the founding of the Advent Evangelical Church near Jamestown, Missouri, was celebrated November 6, 1938. A history of the church and an account of the meeting appear in the California *Democrat* and the California *Moniteau County Herald* of November 10, 1938.

The 70th anniversary of the organization of Pleasant Shade school, southwest of Holden, Missouri, was celebrated on August 14, 1938.—From the Warrensburg *Star-Journal*, August 19, 1938.

The 50th anniversary of Winona, Shannon county, Missouri, was observed on September 15-17, 1938, with a semi-centennial celebration and fair.—From the *Winona Shannon County Democrat*, September 15, 1938.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

The Rev. Dr. John L. Roemer, president of Lindenwood College at St. Charles, Missouri, has announced that the estate of his wife, Mrs. Lillie P. Roemer, which was left to him at her death on August 19, 1938, will be given by him to the college for a memorial building. The building, to be known as Lillie P. Roemer Hall, will house the music and fine arts departments of the college. Mrs. Roemer was dean for twenty-four years of Lindenwood College.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 1, 1938.

The site of Fort Davidson near Ironton, Missouri, which was occupied by Union forces in 1864 during the battle of Pilot Knob, has been given to the United States Forest Service by Thomas Ewing of New York City, son of General Thomas Ewing, commander of the Union forces at the battle, and Dr. Cyrus A. Peterson, whose financial support played an important part in the original acquisition of the land. The gift places under the control and supervision of the Forest Service a tract of land of about twelve acres, including many of the well-preserved earthen fortifications. The *Missouri Historical Review* of April, 1937, erroneously reported that the Fort had been transferred to the State Highway department, and although legislation to that effect was introduced at the time, no affirmative action was taken.

A bronze memorial tablet on a granite marker, commemorating the building of forts of 1812 in the Boone's Lick area, was dedicated on Highway 40, three miles east of Boonville, Missouri, on September 17, 1938. The marker was presented by Mrs. John F. Weinmann, honorary president of the National Society of the U. S. Daughters of 1812, to the Missouri Society of that organization for outstanding his-

torical work during 1937. It commemorates the building of Cooper's Fort, Fort Kincaid, Fort Hempstead, Cole's Fort, Head's Fort, Hannah Cole's Fort, and McMahan's Fort.—From the Boonville *Daily News* of September 14, 16, 17, and 19, 1938.

The historic sites committee of the Young Men's Division of the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis has placed four more temporary metal plaques as part of its program for marking St. Louis' historical sites. Plaques were placed at the site of the old Glasgow House which was opened in 1843 at 2nd and Olive Streets; near the spot where Robert E. Lee began his survey of the Mississippi river in 1837; at the site of the building where John Jacob Astor began fur-trading activities in 1810; and the building at 113-115 North First Street which housed the United States District Court at the time of the Dred Scott case.—From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, September 18, 1938.

A tablet in honor of Miss Mary Mitchell, who for forty years has worked devotedly and has donated more than \$50,000 to the cause of the Humane Society of Missouri, was unveiled in her honor in the Society's shelter at St. Louis on October 4, 1938.—From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, October 6, 1938.

A \$1,000 gift toward a memorial at Potosi, Missouri, to Moses Austin, founder of the city and father of Stephen A. Austin, Texas pioneer, has been approved by the Texas Centennial Commission, it was announced recently.—From the Kansas City *Times*, September 3, 1938.

Plans for the erection of a memorial to General William H. Ashley, pioneer statesman and trader, have been made by the State Officers' Club of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The memorial, which will consist of a large boulder bearing an inscribed bronze tablet, is to be placed at

Ashley's grave in Cooper county, Missouri. General Ashley was Missouri's first lieutenant-governor, serving under Alexander McNair.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 5, 1938.

NOTES

Governor Lloyd C. Stark, heading a delegation from Missouri, turned the first spadeful of earth on the site where Missouri's building will be erected at the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco. The dedication ceremonies, which included an address by Governor Stark, were held on September 8, 1938.

The Pony Express Map painted by George Gray was unveiled by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt in the crystal room of the Hotel Robidoux on October 16, 1938. The Pony Express Map is the first authentic historical map showing the Pony Express and other trails and their associated items as a mural.—From the *St. Joseph News-Press*, October 16, 1938.

A drawing of the Pony Express Memorial, which will be located in the Civic Center at St. Joseph, Missouri, appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of October 18, 1938. The cost of the memorial will be about \$63,000.

The historic Watkins farm and mill near Excelsior Springs, Missouri, were opened to the public with a ceremony recently, and now, for a nominal charge, a guide will show visitors the farm and explain its history. The farm home was built in 1851 and the mill in 1860. The mill building housed a woolen factory on the second and third floors, and a flour-making establishment on the first.—From the *Kansas City Times*, October 11, 1938.

The Clay County Historical Society is renewing its efforts to have the farm originally belonging to Waltus L. Watkins taken over by the State as a park. Recently the old mill on the farm was opened to the public.—From the *Liberty Tribune* October 13, 1938.

Missouri Day was observed in Liberty by pupils of Sandusky School at an assembly program sponsored by the Alexander Doniphan Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Robert S. Withers was the speaker.—From the *Liberty Tribune*, October 6, 1938.

Mr. McCune Gill of St. Louis spoke on women's part in St. Louis history at the "ladies day" luncheon of the Scottish Rite Club at the York Hotel in St. Louis on November 30, 1938.

The *Westliche Post*, German language newspaper founded in St. Louis in 1857, discontinued publication with the issue of September 11, 1938. The publication, edited by J. Otto Pfeiffer, was the oldest daily in St. Louis until it suspended publication of its daily morning issue last June 15, and began issuing only Sunday papers.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 17, 1938.

Mrs. Belle P. (Hosman) Baker, great-granddaughter of Daniel Boone, died near Ash Grove, Missouri, on August 31, 1938. Mrs. Baker spent much of her life on the homestead of Nathan Boone, her grandfather.—From the *Ash Grove Commonwealth*, September 8, 1938.

"Uncle Ike's" postoffice at Notch, Missouri, made famous by the Harold Bell Wright story "The Shepherd of the Hills", was sold recently to Edmund Morrill, a grandson of the "Uncle Ike" of the book. The building has recently been maintained solely as a tourist attraction.

A museum in the Shepherd of the Hills country near Old Matt's cabin is being planned by the Taney County Court. A WPA grant is to be obtained for the labor and the land will be donated by Miss Elizabeth McDaniel, owner of most of the territory made famous in Harold Bell Wright's "Shepherd of the Hills."—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 17, 1938.

Art students at the Southwest Missouri State Teachers College at Springfield, Missouri, recently worked on a project gathering together Ozark folk lore of all sorts. "Barbara Ellen", a classic folk ballad, was selected for a mural subject, and sketches made by members of the class of various scenes inspired by the ballad are reprinted in the Springfield *Sunday News and Leader* of September 11, 1938.

Judge Roy D. Williams of Boonville, a trustee of the State Historical Society, gave an address on the early history of Missouri at a meeting of the Sorosis Club of Sedalia, Missouri, on September 26, 1938.

An address by Mrs. Austin Parker entitled "Our Ozark Tradition" was given at a meeting of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis, Missouri, on October 28, 1938.

An address by Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, entitled "The Purpose And Work Of The State Historical Society," was given to the Department of Social Studies Teachers at the South Central Missouri Teachers Association in Rolla, Missouri, on October 21, 1938.

A description of the Whitmire Campground in 1870 is given in an article by Madelyne Roussin which appeared in the *St. Clair Chronicle* of August 4, 1938. The campground is located in Franklin county and people have gathered here, some coming as far as 100 miles, and worshipped in the open without the benefit of any church edifice. The meeting has been held annually on the first Sunday in August for more than 100 years.

A motion picture of the life of Jesse James, Missouri outlaw, is being produced by a Hollywood studio. Many of the scenes were filmed in McDonald county, Missouri. Action on the picture began in McDonald county around the middle of August, and was completed around the first of October. Extensive accounts of activities during the making of the picture appear in local and city papers of that period.

A letter from Bert Loewenstein containing information on the derivation of the name "Maramec" appears in the "Letters from the People" department of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of September 10, 1938.

An address by Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, on the accounts of early travelers in Saline county, Missouri, was made before the Slater Travel Club on November 7, 1938. The address appears in the Slater *News-Rustler* of November 11, 1938.

A history of Petra and Old Jefferson, two of Saline county's "ghost towns," appears in the Marshall *Daily Democrat News* of October 4 and 19, 1938. The articles were written under the auspices of the Saline County Historical Society.

The first of a series of articles depicting Missouri history for children appeared on the children's page of the Kansas City *Journal* of October 16, 1938.

Historical articles by Bertha Booth continue to appear each week in the Hamilton *Advocate-Hamiltonian*.

The first of a series of historical articles relating to Missouri events, entitled "Turning the Pages Today to Musings on Old Mizzoura," appears in the Monroe City *News* on September 22, 1938.

"Boon's Lick Sketches", a series of historical articles sponsored by the Historical Society of Cooper and Howard Counties, continues to appear in the newspapers of the two counties. Recently released articles include: "Palmer's Shipwreck"; "The Fish Fry at Conner's Mill—1846"; "Speaking of Wallpaper . . ."; "The Boon's Lick Forts"; "Speaking of a Wedding . . ."; "Uncle Issem's Conversion"; "John Taylor Hughes"; "John Sites—Gunsmith"; "Stephen Donohoe"; "Glasgow during the Civil War"; "Adelphai College Student Tells of School Incidents"; and "Old Ledger Reveals How Man Won and Lost 'Kingdom' in Missouri."

An article entitled "History of Barwick Chapel" appears in the *Hamilton Advocate-Hamiltonian* of September 1, 1938.

A feature story entitled "Historic Old Fort Laramie To Be Rebuilt As A National Monument" appears in the *Kansas City Times* of October 18, 1938.

An article on Order No. 11 and its results, written by W. B. Butler, a former Missourian who now lives in Victor, Colorado, appears in the *Pleasant Hill Times* of September 16, 1938.

The text of the address given by Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, to the Lafayette-Lexington chapter of the D. A. R. on the history of Lexington and Lafayette county appears in the *Lexington Intelligencer* and the *Lexington Advertiser-News* of October 20, 1938.

An editorial on the *Missouri Historical Review* and its work in disseminating state history appears in the *Columbia Missourian* of October 13, 1938.

An article on Pleasant Hill entitled "The Oldest Settlement In Cass County," by Mrs. Fielding B. Henly, appears in the *Jefferson City Missouri Farm Bureau News* of September 23, 1938.

A feature story by Sam Smith entitled "Missouri Heroes of 1861 Unsung" appears in the *Kansas City Journal* of November 13, 1938. The article describes the Missouri State Guard and their leader, Sterling Price, and gives an account of their many exploits.

A feature story entitled "Only Heroes Rode With Jo Shelby, Plumed Raider in Missouri" appears in the *Kansas City Star* of October 2, 1938.

An article on the history of the University of Missouri appears in the *Monroe City News* of October 6, 1938.

An interesting article (No. 447 of the Ray County Chapters series) on Captain Bill Anderson and the Battle of Old Albany appears in the *Richmond Missourian* of October 24, 1938.

A feature story on the early history of Kansas City, written by Jessie Crosby Ragan and published under the title "Kansas City's Centennial Year Begins Tomorrow," appears in the *Kansas City Star* of November 13, 1938.

A feature story entitled "Police Station, Doomed, Brings Back Memories" appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of September 25, 1938.

A picture of the school building which preceded the present Sandusky school at Liberty, Missouri, appears in the *Liberty Chronicle* of September 15, 1938. The building was constructed in 1870.

An article by Jack Alexander on Bennett Champ Clark, entitled "Missouri Dark Mule", appears in *The Saturday Evening Post* of October 8, 1938. The article reviews Senator Clark's political career in relation to his possible nomination for the presidency.

A feature story entitled "The Story Of The Jesuit Missionaries Who Blazed The Midwestern Trails" appears in the *Kansas City Times* of November 8, 1938.

A feature story published in the *Kansas City Star* on January 6, 1901, and reprinted in the *Warrensburg Star-Journal* of August 12, 1938, gives former Governor Thomas T. Crittenden's version of the famous "dog trial" of 1870 and Senator Vest's well-known eulogy on the dog. The story is also reprinted in the *Pleasant Hill Times* of August 26, 1938.

Interesting stories of members of the Conway family, who settled near St. Louis as early as 1797, appears in an article by J. L. Ferguson in the Warrensburg *Star-Journal* of September 6, 1938.

Articles appearing in the Unionville *Republican* of August 17 and 24, 1938, tell of the discovery on old maps of Putnam county of a "Mormon trail."

A feature story on General John J. Pershing, written by Newton C. Parks, a World war correspondent, appears in the Kansas City *Star* of September 9, 1935.

A comprehensive list of Ralls county officials from 1821 to the 1870's, which includes the names of county clerks, circuit clerks, recorders, representatives, assessors, sheriffs, collectors, and prosecuting attorneys, appears in the Monroe City *News* of August 11, 1938.

A feature story by May Kennedy McCord on the old gatherings and picnics in the Ozarks forty years ago, published under the title, "Hit's a Fur Piece Back to the First Fair With Hamburgers and Pop," appears in the Springfield *Sunday News and Leader* of September 11, 1938.

A picture and description of old Fort D, Cape Girardeau Civil war fortress which has been restored by the Louis K. Juden post of the American Legion, appear in the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian*, of September 3, 1938.

A feature story on Jefferson City fifty years ago, entitled "Recall Days When Jefferson City Had Ninety-Five Phones and Two Operators," appears in the Jefferson City *Sunday News and Tribune*, of September 25, 1938.

A feature story on the classic New Orleans to St. Louis race of the steamboats "Robert E. Lee" and "Natchez" on the Mississippi river in 1870 appears in the Kansas City *Star* of September 20, 1938.

A history of the Clearfork rural school near Garden City, Cass county, Missouri, appears in the Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat* of August 11, 1938. The school district is 85 years old.

A picture of what is believed to be the first courthouse of Phelps county and the first home of Masonry in that section when it was still a part of St. Louis county, appears in the Rolla *New Era* of September 16, 1938. The building is one which the Phelps county Historical Society plans to preserve and mark.

A letter to the editor of the Rockport *Mail* from Richard Altman of St. Joseph, Missouri, is reprinted in the September 16, 1938 issue. Mr. Altman points out the advantages and possibilities of a county historical society in Atchison county.

A feature story on Edward Bates, entitled "First Missourian In Presidential Race Lost Nomination to Lincoln," appears in the Kansas City *Times* of September 28, 1938.

A feature story sponsored by the Saline County Historical Society and entitled "21 Towns Named 'Marshall' Says Historical Society in Looking to the Centennial", appears in the Marshall *Daily Democrat-News* of September 29, 1938.

A series of two articles by E. L. Renno entitled "The Old Boonslick Road, The Pioneer Road Through Missouri to the West," appears in the St. Charles *Cosmos-Monitor* of August 17 and 24, 1938.

A feature story by Mary Ann Bodine on the Samuel Cox Hooker collection at Central College, Fayette, Missouri, one of the world's outstanding chemical libraries, appears in the Kansas City *Star*, of September 25, 1938.

A history of the Allen school, formerly called the Main or Westport school, which was the first school of old Westport, appears in the Kansas City *Times* of September 5, 1938.

Historical articles by J. L. Ferguson appearing in recent issues of the Warrensburg *Star-Journal* are: "Seventy-two Year Old Time Table Of Missouri Pacific Railroad Found" (Sept. 27); "An 1850 Census Report Gives Some Interesting Data On Johnson County" (Oct. 4); "Members of the Hout Family Have Long Been Builders and Lumber Merchants" (Oct. 11); "Fifty-three Year Old Newspaper Tells of Services Honoring Col. B. W. Grover" (Oct. 25).

An article on the Cherokee Indians' "Trail of Tears" appears in the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian* of October 10, 1938. Mention is made of a study of the Cherokees by Judge John S. Kochtitizky, who has given to the Cape Girardeau County Historical Society and the State Historical Society of Missouri memoranda of the data found during his research.

A story by A. Loyd Collins on the famous Civil War "Order No. 11", which was issued seventy-five years ago, on August 25, 1863, appears in the Clinton *Daily Democrat* of August 25, 1938.

An article by Edward P. Meisburger entitled "20 Years Ago K. C. Men Made Argonne History" appears in the Kansas City *Journal-Post* of September 25, 1938. The author was a sergeant in the first gun section, Battery D, 129th Field Artillery, which saw service in the Argonne.

A feature story on Moses Austin, pioneer colonizer of Missouri and Texas, in whose honor Texas will unveil a statue at San Antonio this fall, appears in the Kansas City *Star* of September 7, 1938.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Jesuits of the Middle United States. By Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J. (New York, American Press, 1938. 3 vols., 2025 p.). For more than a century, during practically all the period covered by the present work, the executive headquarters of the Jesuits of the middle United States were located in St.

Louis, Missouri. This story of the Jesuits gives a great cross section picture of the American frontier. Reaching out from St. Louis in this direction and that through the media of schools, parishes, mission-posts and other apostolic enterprises, the members of the Order identified themselves with the religious, and consequently, with the civic and social beginnings of numerous localities in Missouri and surrounding states. They made personal contacts with Indian agents, army officials and midwestern political leaders.

The historical sources used and cited are voluminous. Among them in particular are the general archives of the Society of Jesus, the archives of the Jesuit provinces of Missouri, Maryland-New York, Northern Belgium, and lower Germany, the Baltimore and St. Louis archdiocesan archives, the "Catholic Archives of America" (Notre Dame University), the files of the Indian Office, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C., and the files of numerous other archival depositories.

The plan and general organization of the work makes it very usable. Each chapter of the book is a complete treatment of one phase of the subject. For example, in one chapter is treated the complete history of St. Regis Seminary, at Florissant, Missouri, two chapters are devoted to St. Louis University, and still another to the missions of central Missouri. A large percentage of the material is especially pertinent to the history of Missouri, as it is also to that of other midwestern states. The work is well indexed, contains an excellent collection of pictures and an unusually helpful set of explanatory notes.

The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner. Compiled by Everett E. Edwards. (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1938. 316 p.). A desire to return the works of Frederick Jackson Turner to their original place in American historiography led the University of Wisconsin Press to include this volume among its earliest publications. An introduction by Dr. Fulmer Mood, now of the University of California, is followed by four of Turner's essays: "The Significance of History," "Problems in American History,"

"The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin" and finally, his famous essay on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." A bibliography of his writings, compiled by Everett E. Edwards, fills thirty-five pages. The volume also contains a list of thirty references to his life and works and an appendix that compares the differing versions of "The Significance of the Frontier." Students and general readers of American history will appreciate the appearance of this collection from the works of an outstanding teacher and historian who gave the West a significant, if not a new place, in the history of the nation.

A History of Jefferson City, Missouri's State Capital, and of Cole County. By James E. Ford. (Jefferson City, Mo., The New Day Press, 1938. 600 p.). Although Jefferson City has been the political center of the State of Missouri for more than a century, this is the first published volume on the history of the town. This work is a compilation of history and folk tales in which the author treats systematically the activities of the city from its origin to 1938. The first 359 pages contain excellent sketches of pioneer settlers and settlements, Indian wars, bushwhacker raids, churches, schools, newspapers, professional and business organizations, and a chapter most appropriately entitled "Political Review." Such chapters as "Reminiscences," "Truth that Sounds Like Fiction" and other derivations break the formality of the work and make available many stories of early Missouri that will be appreciated by writers and story tellers. The last section of 229 pages, devoted to brief biographical sketches of the city's outstanding citizens, is certain to increase the local popularity of the book.

Railroadman. By Chauncey Del French. (The Macmillan Company, 1938. 292 p.). This is a thrilling account of the railroad career of Henry Clay French, who began railroading in 1873 as a messenger boy of thirteen years on the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad in northern Missouri. For fifty-seven years, an era when mining camps, cow towns and railroad construction camps were in their heyday, he saw serv-

ice on fifteen different lines as telegrapher, switchman, brakeman, fireman-engineer, conductor and yardmaster. He knew the thrill of riding a runaway train, of facing a head-on collision, the hairbreadth escapes involved in coupling trains and setting brakes by hand. Wary feet, steady nerves and an alert mind were the prerequisites of successful railroading—"a man only lived long enough to make one mistake."

This biography vividly pictures a half-century of railroad building in America. The rustic life of railroad men; the struggle for control by railroad promoters; labor organizations; rigid standards for railroad employees; and the development of one of the world's greatest safety programs, are presented for the delight of general readers. The story is vital to the history of railroading in Missouri.

Fathers and Founders. By W. G. Polack. (St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1938. 79 p.). A more appropriate title could not be found for this brief history of the emigration to and settlement in Perry county, Missouri, of some 650 German Lutherans in 1839. Within about six months after the arrival of these Europeans, in addition to providing shelter and stores for the winter, they erected a log building and opened a seminary. This group also brought to Missouri the young minister, C. F. W. Walther, whose influence became greater than that of any other American Lutheran clergyman of the nineteenth century.

Souvenir Program of Battle of Wilson Creek, Seventy-Seventh Anniversary, August 10-11, 1938. History of the Battle of Wilson Creek. By L. E. Meador. ([Springfield, Mo.], 1938. 35 p.). This booklet contains, in addition to a program of activities, two maps of the battlefield and much valuable data on the battle of Wilson Creek. Although only 15,575 men took part in the engagement, more than 2,500 casualties were reported. In the Union army General Lyon, every brigadier general, and every colonel except one were killed or wounded. The losses on the Confederate side were

almost equally great. In proportion to the number of troops engaged, the battle of Wilson Creek ranks among the most hotly contested battles of the Civil war.

One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the First Christian Church, Hannibal, Missouri, 1838-1938. (n.p., n.d. 17 p.). This small brochure contains, in addition to the centennial program, a short history of the First Christian Church at Hannibal, the membership roll and the names of those on the official board. It also includes a history of the Sunday school, the names of the officers and teachers, together with historical data on each of the classes and auxiliary organizations. A brief biography of the pastor, the Reverend C. J. Armstrong, and the name and date of service of each of his predecessors add to the general interest of the work.

The interesting article "Plantation Life in Missouri" by Berenice Morrison-Fuller, which has previously appeared in the *Glasgow Missourian* and the Missouri Historical Society's publication, *Glimpses Of The Past*, has recently been reprinted in a thirty-four page pamphlet.

Spencer, Thomas E., *A Centennial Celebration for Marshall, Missouri, 1939: A Report to the Saline County Historical Society.* ([Marshall, Mo.?], September 10, 1938. 28 p.) This is an enthusiastic speech in which the author sets forth a plan for celebrating in 1939 the centennial anniversary of the founding of Marshall, Missouri, the county seat of Saline county. The speech encourages the preparation of a pageant adequate in its general treatment of pioneer life to depict the great westward movement of the American people.

A memorial address was made by the Honorable Joseph B. Shannon at the memorial services for John Shannon Shelby on October 17, 1938. The address has been reprinted in an eight-page pamphlet.

The Historical Background, Setting and Synopsis of "Jesse James" Filmed at and Near Pineville, Missouri. By C. A. Poindexter and Bracken Fitzpatrick. (Pineville, Mo., The Pineville Democrat Press, 1938. 31 p.) This small volume presents a synopsis of the 20th Century Fox Film Corporation's forthcoming production, "Jesse James." At Pineville, McDonald county, in southwest Missouri, a considerable effort was made to reproduce the proper historical setting for the play. However, Missourians must regret the fact that in the film story little regard has been given to the historical facts in the life of Jesse James, Missouri's number one desperado.

The Blue Springs Herald. (Blue Springs, Mo., October 7, 1938. 28 p.) This fiftieth anniversary edition of the *Herald* contains an excellent account of the founding of Blue Springs, Missouri, together with brief historical features on the founding of its various churches, lodges and schools. An account of a reunion of Quantrill's men in 1907 and a picturesque but tragic story of the expulsion of eighty Southern sympathizers under the infamous Order No. 11 adds to the general interest of the work.

Scott County Democrat, Neighbor Day Edition. (Benton, Mo., September 29, 1938. 32 p.) Commemorating the fourteenth annual Neighbor Day celebration held at Benton, Missouri, under the auspices of the Scott County Farm Bureau, this seven-section publication features many articles reprinted from the *Democrat* and the *Benton Record* of past years. These articles, dating from 1890, and a brief history of Benton are of historical interest to readers of the paper.

Carthage Evening Press, Payroll Edition. (Carthage, Mo., November 22, 1938. 42 p.) This special edition of the *Press* is devoted to the activity and history of Carthage industries, schools and civic enterprises. It contains an excellent collection of pictures, considerable biographical data and a large number of well developed historical sketches. Al-

though the work was published primarily to acquaint the Carthaginians with the variety and nature of home industries it is of more than local interest and indicates that Carthage is one of the prosperous commercial centers of southwest Missouri.

The Marceline News, Golden Jubilee Edition. (Marceline, Mo., September 2, 1938. 34 p.) The publication of this special historical edition was an outstanding part of the fiftieth anniversary celebration on September 8, 9, and 10 of the founding of Marceline, Missouri. The work contains an excellent general history of the town together with special features on churches, clubs, lodges, business, professional and social organizations. It also presents a good collection of pictures and primary biographical data on the town's early inhabitants.

The Nevada Herald, Fiftieth Anniversary Edition. (Nevada, Mo., July 14, 1938. 36 p.) This publication, divided in five sections and dedicated to the pioneers of Vernon county, contains a well-organized group of articles dealing with the history of Vernon county, and its churches, schools, businesses and towns. The edition also contains a number of pictures to illustrate effectively the development of the county and particularly of Nevada.

An article by Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, on the Platte Purchase centennial celebration appears in the September, 1938, issue of *School and Community*.

An article by Erwin D. Canham describing Kansas and Missouri appears in the *Christian Science Monitor* of October 17, 1938.

Peterson, Charles E., "French Houses of the Illinois Country," in *Missouriana and the Missouri Magazine*, September, 1938, Vol. X, No. 10, pp. 4-7. (St. Louis, 1938). Although the Mississippi Valley was French for more than 100 years before it was American and hundreds of colonial houses

were built between St. Charles and Kaskaskia, only a few remain. According to this study, the best information on French architecture in the Middle West is to be obtained in St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, and Old Mines in Washington county.

Atherton, Lewis E., "Early Western Mercantile Advertising," in *Bulletin of the Business and Historical Society*, Vol. XII, No. 4, September, 1938, pp. 52-57. (Boston, 1938). This suggestive article is a study of the advertising methods used by frontier merchants during the pre-Civil war era. Although newspapers were the most commonly used advertising media, city directories were sometimes used and handbills were introduced at least as early as 1850.

Atherton, Lewis E., "The Merchant Sutler in the Pre-Civil War Period," reprinted from *The Southern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, September, 1938. (Norman, Okla., 1938. 12 p.) Although the sutler has generally been considered an army official, he was in reality a civilian and his chief function was merchandising. He received his position by political appointment, usually entered the business without previous merchandising experience and ordinarily did not remain in the work long enough to profit by his experience.

"A Brief Sketch of the Development of Negro Education in St. Louis, Missouri," by J. W. Evans, appears in the October, 1938, issue of *The Journal of Negro Education*.

"Thomas Nuttall, 'The Father of Western American Botany,'" is the subject of a thirteen page typewritten "Memorandum for the Press," released October 21, 1938, by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. A monument to Nuttall stands in the Missouri Botanical Garden at St. Louis, Missouri.

"Illinois as Lincoln Knew It," edited by Harry E. Pratt, in *Papers in Illinois History, 1937*, published by the Illinois State Historical Society, consists of descriptive letters written

by J. H. Buckingham in 1847 for the *Boston Courier*. One letter, that of July 17, 1847, was written from St. Louis and is followed by notes taken there and on the Mississippi river above that point.

"Fifty Years in the Service of Agriculture, 1888-1938; by the Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Missouri," being Bulletin 397, issued in June, 1938, presents not only the speeches of the commemorative exercises, but also a most interesting historical sketch and summary of the activities of this station.

PERSONALS

DARIUS ALVIN BROWN: Born in Wabaunsee county, Kan., Nov. 3, 1869; died at Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 3, 1938. He attended the public schools of Topeka, Kansas, received his law degree from the University of Michigan in 1893, and located in Kansas City. In 1898 he was elected city attorney and in 1905 was appointed court stenographer. He was elected to the lower house of the city council in 1908 and mayor in 1910. He was defeated for re-election in 1912. He then practiced law until he was elected judge of the circuit court in 1928, which office he held until his death.

SANFORD MILLER BROWN: Born in Yadkin county, N. C., July 12, 1855; died at Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 21, 1938. He was educated in the public and private schools of North Carolina. In 1876 he was ordained to the ministry of the Baptist church, and in 1877 he moved to Missouri. He has held various pastorates throughout the State, founded five Kansas City Baptist churches and dedicated more than 300 churches in Missouri. He was the founder of *The Word and Way* and was its editor from the beginning in 1892.

I. N. BRYSON: Born at Louisiana, Mo., Dec. 13, 1853; died at Louisiana, Mo., Nov. 7, 1938. He was the son of I. N. Bryson, one of Louisiana's pioneer merchants, and was educated in the schools at Louisiana. On July 12, 1882, he bought the Louisiana *Pike County Republican* and changed the name to the Louisiana *Republican*. In 1887 he bought the

Louisiana *Press-Journal*, the *Journal* having been established in 1855 and the *Press*, originally the *Riverside Press*, established in 1872, and in 1927 he bought the *Louisiana Times*. Mr. Bryson was editor and publisher of the *Press-Journal* from the time it was bought in 1887 until his death. He was a personal friend of the late Champ Clark.

ALBERT CHAMBERS: Born in Garnett, Kan., Aug. 31, 1861; died at Liberty, Mo., Nov. 27, 1938. He was educated in the public schools of St. Clair county and in the Central State Teachers College at Warrensburg, Missouri. He served as Republican representative from St. Clair county in the forty-third, forty-ninth and fiftieth General Assemblies and was elected State senator from the sixteenth district to fill out the unexpired term of Clark Wix. He served until 1922, when he retired from public office to return to his farming and stock-raising business in St. Clair county.

FRANK EBERLE: Born in 1863; died in Joplin, Mo., Sept. 18, 1938. He came to Joplin in 1896, and was employed on the *News Herald*. He later held positions on newspapers in Portland, Oregon, and Omaha, Nebraska. He returned to Joplin in 1916 and lived there until his death. Eberle was publisher of the *Metal Industries Journal*, formerly the *American Zinc, Lead and Copper Journal*. He was a Spanish-American War veteran.

J. FLETCHER FARRELL: Born in Madison, Mo., Aug. 19, 1878; died at Bronxville, N. Y., Sept. 25, 1938. His family early moved to Paris, Missouri, where he was educated and began work in the Paris Savings Bank. In 1901, he became Assistant State Treasurer of Missouri and served for three years, resigning to accept a position with the Third National Bank of St. Louis. He was elected vice-president from Missouri of the American Bankers Association in 1909. In 1916 he began a long association with the Sinclair Oil interests and at the time of his death he was an officer in the Consolidated Oil Corporation and other Sinclair concerns.

WILLIAM F. FRANK: Born in Schuyler county, Mo., Nov. 27, 1874; died in Jefferson City, Mo., Sept. 9, 1938. At the age of sixteen he became a rural school teacher, attending Kirksville Teachers college between terms. He began

reading law in the evenings, in an office in Memphis, Missouri, and in 1903 was admitted to the bar. He opened an office in Kirksville, where he practiced continuously until he went into the State attorney-general's office as an assistant in 1925. In 1922 he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention. He served as assistant attorney-general until 1927, when a law was passed creating a commission for the Kansas City court of appeals and Frank was appointed a commissioner. In 1928 he was nominated on the Republican ticket for judge of the Missouri supreme court and was elected. He was completing the last year of his term on the bench and was in the midst of a campaign for re-election at the time of his death.

CLIFFORD E. FRENCH: Born in Rolla, Mo., April 26, 1869; died in Springfield, Mo., Sept. 13, 1938. He began his career in Rolla, going to St. Louis in 1906 as national bank examiner. He served there at various times as cashier of the Federal Reserve Bank, chief national bank examiner in the eighth federal reserve district, and vice-president of the First National Bank and of the old Lafayette South Side Bank and Trust Company. In 1925, Mr. French was appointed state finance commissioner, from which position he resigned to become an officer in the Lafayette Bank. In 1930 he was again appointed to the post of finance commissioner, retiring in 1931. He had resided in Springfield since 1929.

ERNEST A. GREEN: Born at Hillsboro, Mo., 1884; died at St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 21, 1938. He attended school at De Soto, Missouri, later entered the University of Missouri, and received his degree in law in 1905. He began the practice of law in Poplar Bluff, Missouri, and in 1906 was elected prosecuting attorney of Butler county. In 1913 he was appointed assistant attorney-general. He moved to St. Louis in 1914 and in 1916 he was appointed to serve an unexpired term as circuit judge, where he served several months. Mr. Green was president of the St. Louis Bar Association in 1926 and president of the Missouri Bar Association in 1927. He was a member of the Democratic State Committee and was an active member of the Democratic party throughout his career.

ELDO LEWIS HENDRICKS: Born in Rossville, Ind., Oct. 2, 1866; died at Warrensburg, Mo., Nov. 23, 1938. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Franklin College at Franklin, Indiana, in 1894 and his master's degree from the University of Indiana in 1899. He also had graduate work at Harvard, Chicago University and Columbia University. In 1916 Franklin College awarded him an honorary doctor's degree. He served as county and city superintendent of schools in Indiana from 1894 to 1909. In 1910 Dr. Hendricks came to Warrensburg, Missouri, as head of the history department of the State Normal School. In 1915 he became president of the school and served until May, 1937. In addition to his work with schools he was also the author of several books.

W. R. LOGAN: Born at Richview, Ill., Aug. 27, 1858; died at Carthage, Mo., Oct. 30, 1938. He attended school in Carthage, Missouri. He operated a mine at Carterville, Missouri, from 1887 until 1892 and then entered the quarrying industry. He was active in the real estate business and erected many buildings in Carthage. He was a leader in Republican politics in Carthage and Jasper county. He served one term in the State legislature, was a member of the Carthage city council, served as mayor *pro tem*, was president of the school board for nine years, and served on the city library board.

ROBERT M. REYNOLDS: Born near Norton, Mo., Jan. 17, 1863; died at Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 15, 1938. He was educated in the public schools at Arrow Rock, Missouri, and at Central College, Fayette. He was admitted to the bar in 1888, and practiced law in Arrow Rock and Slater, Missouri, until 1890, when he moved to Marshall, Missouri. In 1894 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Saline county and he served two terms in this office. He was chosen a member of the State board of law examiners, serving from 1914 until 1922, when he was elected judge of the Saline-Lafayette judicial circuit. He resigned this office in 1933 when he was appointed commissioner of the Kansas City Court of Appeals. Judge Reynolds was then elected associate judge on the Court

of Appeals in 1936 for a term expiring December 31, 1948. He held this office at the time of his death.

SARAH GLASGOW WILSON: Died at St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 19, 1938. She was the widow of Newton Richards Wilson and the grand-daughter of William Carr Lane, the first mayor of St. Louis. She was a native of St. Louis and a graduate of Mary Institute, a preparatory school for girls conducted by Washington University. Mrs. Wilson was widely known for her philanthropies. Her gifts to Washinton University approached \$1,000,000. Numbered among her gifts to the University are a swimming pool, the Newton R. Wilson Memorial Hall, which houses the geography and geology departments, a fund for a Women's Building and the funds for construction of a new building at Mary Institute. Her donation to the St. Louis Medical Society made possible the library and the permanent home of the Society. In her will Mrs. Wilson left half of her estate to Washington University. This gift will amount to about \$500,000 which is to be used for increase in salaries of the teachers.

EUGENE J. SPENCER: Born in St. Louis, Mo., 1859; died in St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 22, 1938. He was graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1882. He was later transferred from the Fourth Cavalry to the engineering corps. Spencer served for two years as an instructor at West Point, resigning from the army to join an electrical concern. In 1898 he reentered the army as a lieutenant-colonel, organizing troops for the Spanish American War. He resigned again soon after the close of the war, but in 1906 he accepted the command of the old First Infantry of the Missouri National Guard. In 1913 he was commissioned brigadier-general of the Guard. In 1917 he returned to the army as an engineer colonel, and helped train and equip soldiers. General Spencer was chief of staff of Base Section No. 2, Headquarters at Bordeaux, at the termination of the war. He was decorated with the cross of the French Legion of Honor, and the Distinguished Service Medal of the United States. Since the World War, General Spencer had been active in peacetime military organizations.

JOHN HEPLER WOOD: Born in Monroe County, Mo., Dec. 8, 1869; died in Canton, Mo., Sept. 25, 1938. He received a Bachelor of Literature degree from the University of Missouri in 1895, and a Doctor of Divinity degree from Culver-Stockton College in 1918. Immediately after his graduation from the University, Dr. Wood taught ethics and logic at Christian College in Columbia, Missouri. He was ordained to the ministry of the Disciples of Christ in 1905, and served as pastor of the Christian Church at Shelbina, Missouri, for fourteen years. In 1917, Dr. Wood was elected president of Culver-Stockton College at Canton, Missouri, and he continued in that position until his resignation about a year and a half ago, when he became president-emeritus of the institution.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

STORY OF GOVERNOR STEWART'S MAGNANIMITY

Reprinted from the *Louisville Special*, by the *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, October 4, 1889.

Sitting in the rotunda of the Alexander hotel, of this city, Proctor Knott last night told this story:

"It was the most remarkable scene I ever witnessed. It occurred during my early manhood, when I was attorney-general of Missouri. Robert Stewart was then governor of that state. One day I was in his private office when he pardoned a steamboat man for some crime. What it was I have forgotten, but that does not matter. The man had been brought from the penitentiary to the governor's office. He was a large, powerful fellow, with the rough manners of his class.

"The governor looked at the steamboat man and seemed strangely affected. He scrutinized him long and closely. Finally he signed the document that restored him to liberty, but before he handed it to him, said: 'You will commit some other crime, and be in the Penitentiary again, I fear.' The man solemnly promised that he would not. The governor looked doubtful, mused a few moments, and said:

" 'You will go back on the river, and be a mate again, I suppose?' "

The man replied that he would.

" 'Well, I want you to promise me one thing,' resumed the governor. 'I want you to pledge your word that when you are a mate again you will never take a billet of wood in your hand and drive a sick boy out of a bunk to help you load your boat on a stormy night.' The steamboat man said that he would not, and inquired what the governor meant by asking him such a question.

"The governor replied: 'Because some day that boy may become a governor, and you may want him to pardon you for a crime. One dark, stormy night many years ago you stopped your boat on the Mississippi to take on a load of wood. There was a boy on board who was working his passage from New Orleans to St. Louis, but he was very sick of a fever and was lying in a bunk. You had plenty of men to do the work, but you went to that boy with a stick of wood in your hand and drove him with blows and curses out into the wretched night, and kept him toiling like a slave until the load was completed. I was that boy. Here is your pardon. Never again be guilty of such brutality.' And the man, cowering and hiding his face, went out. As I never heard of him again, I suppose he took care not to break the law."

THE BEAVER HUNTER

Written by "Aurora Borealis" [Capt. Alphonso Wetmore] at Franklin, Missouri, October 27, 1822, for the Franklin *Missouri Intelligencer* of October 29, 1822.

There appears in the character of the inhabitants who reside immediately on a frontier, certain doubtful features that render it difficult to determine to which side of the boundary they belong. Thus it is with our borderers of Missouri who have taken up their residence in the neighborhood of the Indian lands, and in many instances have adopted the habits, manners and costume of the natives.

Michael Shuckwell, or as he has been more familiarly denominated *Mike Shuck*, may be presented as a sample of these volunteer Barbarians. Amongst the early settlers of Kentucky, *Mike Shuck* was known [as] a white headed hardy urchin, whom nobody claimed kin to, and who disclaimed connexion with all mankind.

He was inured to danger in the course of the Indian wars of that period; and when the celebrated Colonel Boon migrated to this country, Mike was one of his numerous followers. Advancing as the settlements progressed, for the convenience of hunting, he has at last found himself pushed beyond the boundary of that tract of country to which the Indian title has been extinguished. At present *Mike Shuck* claims a portable citizenship, or a floating title to a residence that he locates for the time being wherever he may chance to lay himself down for the night. His subsistence he draws from nature's grand storehouse, by means of an old rusty rifle that has been his constant companion since his first campaign under Gen. George Rogers Clark.

He possesses, in an eminent degree, a knowledge of all the minutia of trapping [*sic*], and he appropriates his autumns, the proper season for this branch of his business, in exploring the small creeks that put into the Missouri above the settlements. He is frequently discovered "at the peep of dawn," bareheaded and bare-footed, pursuing the meanderings of these watercourses, bending under a load of traps, to learn whether or not his bait has attracted the cautious victim; or for the purpose of locating his traps more advantageously.

Such is the accuracy of his skill, that *Mike Shuck* can make up a pack of beaver, where an Indian, with all his rude knowledge of natural history, would esteem the prospect hopeless. A gentleman who was in the pursuit of elk, about the middle of November last, discovered this modern Crusoe at evening, laden with his effects, that by great good fortune at this time amounted to about a pack-horse load. He proposed to encamp with him for the night. *Mike* uttered a kind of grumbling assent, and led the way, first through an extensive hazle thicket, thence descending into a ravine, he proceeded by a devious route through a compact grove of swamp ash, and at length arrived at a cheerful fire that had previously been lighted up by our hero; but for which the place would have been as dreary as purgatory is represented to be. The owls themselves, however

pressing their necessities, could scarcely have flapped their way into this dismal labyrinth. But *Mike* and his *plunder*, as he very properly termed it in this instance, (for it was the legitimate property of the Indians) was safe. *Mike Shuck* threw down his burden, and turned to his follower with a malicious smile, or rather hysteric grin, and desired him to be seated. The hospitality of his board, if a bearskin spread on the ground deserves the name, was tendered with very little ceremony, and consisted of a beaver tail and an elk marrow bone, both of which were prepared on the coals by mine host in his own proper person.

Mike, as I have before remarked, claims no family connexions; and if he ever had any, he has outlived them: he is therefore making no provision for legacy hunters. But he is always, when he deigns to make use of his tongue, grumbling about his arrangements for an easy independent old age, and speaks of it as if it was yet very far distant, although he has attained almost fourscore. When the traping [*sic*] season is over, he betakes himself to his *craft*, as he is pleased to term a cotton wood canoe, and proceeds to market with his usual indifference towards the elements. On one occasion, when his cargo was fairly afloat on the angry current of the Missouri and Mike had extended his weather-worn limbs upon the shore for repose, his bow fast (a grape vine) parted, and his frail bark put to sea without a pilot. On making this discovery in the morning, he was chagrined but not discouraged by the event. He lost no time, but instantly set off in pursuit of his fortune, and having coasted down the river, on the third day discovered his craft self-moored under the lee of a raft of drift wood, without having sustained the smallest injury to hull, rigging or cargo. Michael was so much rejoiced, that, by inspiration of instinct, he was induced to offer a hasty prayer of thanksgiving; but whether it was direct to *God*, *man* or the *Devil*, I have not been informed. As old Michael disdains to decorate his pericranium with the beaver he may entrap, his hair has been suffered to grow into a matted gristly [*sic*] substitute, and at present very much resembles the borrowed wig of a strolling player. His features too are worn by time and the storms of nearly eighty winters into the inflexibility of a barber's block. With all these evidences to the contrary, he professes to be exceedingly happy. He insists that he relishes his meals infinitely better than a professed epicure; and he contends that Madeira can by no means bear a comparison with spring water.

I do not envy him his happiness, nor would I recommend copying his pursuits, yet I believe most religiously that such a life of active exertion, by giving to the blood a vigorous circulation, will insure health and cheerfulness to the spirits, while an inert sedentary life, will be fruitful only in Blue-devils.

MISSOURI INDIANS WISHED TO SETTLE ON SITE OF ST. LOUIS IN 1764

Excerpt from the translation of Auguste Chouteau's "Journal" owned by the Mercantile Library of St. Louis, and published in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of August 4, 1901.

... Whilst we were all very much occupied with this work [building a house for Laclede on the present site of St. Louis, in April, 1764] there arrived among us, in the month of——all the tribe of the Missouri, men, women and children; and although they did not appear to have any evil intentions toward us, they were not the less a heavy charge on us, from their continual demands for provisions, and from their thefts of our tools—telling us, always, that they wished to form a village around the house we intended building, of which it would be the center. All this talk disturbed me very much and made me resolve to send for Monsieur de Laclede, and what still more strongly determined me to do so was that there had come from Caos (Cahokia) some people to settle in the new village, but who left it again for fear of the Missouri, who numbered about one hundred and fifty warriors, while we were only thirty or thirty-five. But I should say that this tribe never appeared to have any hostile intentions whatever. Monsieur de Laclede arrived, and immediately the chief of the Missouri came to see him, in order to hold a council. The result of the council was that they were worthy of pity; that they were like the ducks and the bustards, who sought open water in order to rest and procure an easy subsistence; that they did not find any place more suitable, in their opinion, than the place where they were. Upon that they said many things, which amounted always to this—that they desired to settle where they were. The council ended, Monsieur Laclede postponed until the following day his reply to them. The council again assembled, and after much preliminary talk, Monsieur de Laclede spoke to them with his usual firmness: "You told me yesterday that you were like the ducks and the bustards, who traveled until they found a fine country, where there was beautiful open water, that they might rest there, and obtain an easy living, and that you, the Missouri, who were worthy of pity, resembled them, because you traveled like them to find a place to settle yourselves, and that you did not find any one more suitable than that where you are at present; that you wished to form a village around my house, where we should live together in the greatest friendship. I will reply to you in a few words, and I will say that if you followed the example of the ducks and the bustards in settling yourselves, you followed bad guides, who have no foresight, because if they had any they would not put themselves into open water, so that the eagles and the birds of prey could discover them easily, which would never happen to them if they were in a woody place and covered with brush. You Missouri, you will not be eaten by eagles; but these men who have waged war against you for a long time past, who are in great numbers against you, who are few, will kill your warriors, because they will offer resistance, and will make your women and children slaves. Behold what will happen to you for wishing to follow, as you say, the course of the ducks and bustards, rather than the advice of men of experience. You women, who are here present and who listen to me, go, tenderly caress your children, give them food in plenty; also, to your aged parents, press them closely in your arms, lavish upon them all the evidences of the tenderest affection, until the fatal moment which shall

separate you from them—and that moment is not far distant, if your men persist in their intention to settle here. I warn you, as a good father, that there are six or seven hundred warriors at Fort de Chartres, who are there to make war against the English—which occupies them fully at this moment, for they turn all their attention below Fort Chartres from whence they expect the English—but if they learn you are here, beyond the least doubt they will come to destroy you. See now, warriors, if it be not prudent on your part to leave here at once, rather than to remain to be massacred, your wives and your children torn to pieces, and their limbs thrown to dogs and to birds of prey. Recollect, I speak to you as a good father; reflect well upon what I have just told you, and give me your answer this evening, I can not give you any longer time, for I must return to Fort de Chartres."

In the evening the whole nation, men, women and children, came to M. de Laclede and told him that they had opened their ears wide to his discourse, and that they would follow, in all things, his advice; and they prayed him to have pity upon the women and children, and give them provisions and a little powder and some balls for the men, that they might hunt while going up the Missouri and defend themselves, if they were attacked. M. de Laclede told them that he would have pity on them, and detained them until the next day. He could not give them anything that day, for he had not enough corn, which he was obliged to send to Caos for. As soon as he had received it he gave them a large quantity—some powder, balls and knives and some cloth; and the day after all the Missouris went away, to go up the Missouri and return to their ancient village—having remained here fifteen days, in the course of which I had the cellar of the house, which we were to build, dug by the women and children. I gave them in payment vermillion, awls and verdigris. They dug the largest part of it, and carried the earth in wooden platters and baskets, which they bore upon their heads.

M. de Laclede, after giving the orders he thought necessary for the works of a settlement, left a few days after the savages for Fort de Chartres. Those persons who had fled to Caos on the coming of the savages, returned as soon as they knew that they had gone away, and commenced building their houses, or, to speak more correctly, their cabins, and entered their lands, agreeable to the lines of the lots which I had drawn, following the plan which M. de Laclede had left with me

AGRICULTURAL POSSIBILITIES IN NEW MADRID COUNTY

From the St. Louis *Enquirer*, June 24, 1822. Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New Madrid to the Editor of the *Enquirer*.

My Dear Sir.—I mentioned to you when I was in St. Louis that after my arrival in this part of the State, I should probably make you some communications respecting the county of New Madrid. I have travelled over the county and have bestowed particular care upon its examination; I am not, as you know, an agriculturalist, but I have been at some pains to learn from the people the adaptation of the soil and the

climate to the cultivation of cotton, tobacco, small grain and Indian corn; and I find that the opinion which has obtained general currency that cotton and bread stuffs are not the legitimate productions of the same soil is annually refuted by New Madrid. Anterior to the earthquake, for several years, the county of New Madrid populated very rapidly; it had come to be known as a cotton country but a short time prior to that event, and yet a great number of emigrants had found their way here with their negroes and capital. The earthquake, however, not only stopped the tide of emigration to this district of country, but drove very many of the wealthy inhabitants away. In furnishing you intelligence, with regard to this country, I need not here stop to detail the effects of the earthquakes or to conjecture as to the probability of a repetition of them; it is sufficient that the inhabitants consider themselves perfectly secure.

In a parallel of latitude one and a half and two degrees above this tobacco is subject to be injured by frosts, as well in the fall as in the spring. In this county the vernal frosts continue to prevail until the end of March, and sometimes slight frosts are discovered in the middle of April. Autumnal frosts are not looked for until November, so that you perceive tobacco may grow here nearly four weeks longer than it can 150 or 200 miles above us. The soil is also remarkably adapted to the cultivation of tobacco—it is sandy and will produce abundantly the first season.

The cotton of this county (of which a small boat load was taken last year to New Orleans) sells at $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound more than the cotton of Alabama and Tennessee. Each laborer in a cotton field may cultivate the same extent of ground that he could if it were in corn, and every acre produces from 12 to 14 hundred weight of cotton, which sells, crude from the ground, at 4 dollars a hundred, making about 52 dollars for each acre of ground the farmer cultivates, and realizing every year to the owner of negroes, almost the cash value of as many of them as he employs in the cultivation of this staple.

The average yield of corn is 50 or 55 bushels to the acre, and land in this county has been known to produce 96 bushels, though cultivated with very little of the attention and care usually bestowed upon lands in the older States; and wheat, oats and potatoes grow very abundantly.

Considerable quantities of rice have also been raised here, and I am told that it is almost a certain crop. The cultivation of the low land rice has never yet been attempted, but the high land rice produces very well throughout the county; the produce of a quarter of an acre being sufficient for the consumption of a very large family.

One word on the subject of the health of the country will close my remarks. The county of New Madrid has some how got the reputation abroad of being very unhealthy; people who have had occasion to travel through it and observe the numerous lakes by which the face of the country is characterised, have, unthinkingly, come to the conclusion that they were local, permanent causes of ill health to the inhabitants. This is so far from

being the case, that the inhabitants consider it a great and important advantage to have their plantations situate immediately on their edge. The water is clear and pure during the summer, and never dries up. In short, I have no doubt but it is as healthy here as in any other part of the western country.

PIONEER IN SUBSOIL FLOWING, TERRACING, DOUBLE WOOL CARDING, COTTON GINNING, AND COTTON SPINNING

Written by Judge Williams for the *St. Louis Western Journal*, June 1848.

Messrs. Editors—I desire though the medium of your valuable journal to call the attention of my brother farmers to the subject of subsoil ploughing. The subsoil plough has been in use for many years in England, and also in the eastern States; but as far as my knowledge extends, I am the first individual who introduced it west of the Mississippi river.

The advantages of subsoil ploughing may be stated as follows: First, by increasing the depth of pasture for the roots of corn and other plants, they are not only furnished with a more permanent supply of moisture and air, but the valuable properties of the subsoil are made available without being mixed with the vegetable mould, which is left as light and as friable as before. Secondly, by enlarging the capacity of the pasture to hold water, the pulverized soil is prevented from washing off; for it very rarely rains so hastily as to carry off the soil until it is fully saturated with water; and it seldom happens that more rain falls at any one time than will saturate a soil from eighteen to twenty inches in depth. Thirdly, it serves to drain soils that are so constituted as to hold water, and thus enables the farmer to prepare for planting earlier in the season, as well as to work his crop in a shorter time after the heavy rains which usually fall in the spring and early part of summer; and lastly, it enables the crop to stand drought with much less injury; for the roots of corn, especially, will penetrate to the bottom of the pasture, although it should be two feet in depth, and here, it will find sufficient moisture to sustain the plant in the driest seasons which happen in this country. . . . The advantages accruing from subsoil ploughing will doubtless depend somewhat upon the depth of the vegetable mould, and the quality or properties of the subsoil; but I think it may be safely affirmed that every description of soil is benefitted by the process—and that by the application of a little manure, the average crop of St. Louis county would be increased from fifty to one hundred per cent. by the use of the subsoil plough.

I made the pattern for my subsoil plough, had the irons cast, and stocked it myself—it proved to be an excellent model, and works as well as I could desire. My method of using it is as follows: First with a three horse plough I made a furrow about eight inches deep, turning the ground well, that the soil may not be mixed with the clay—then follow with the subsoil plough, running below the level of the surface about twenty inches, which makes the entire depth about two feet below the surface when flushed up. The next furrow of the mould-board plough turns upon

the furrow made by the subsoil plough, and replaces the soil upon the clay without mixing them together. The subsoil plough requires a team of four or five yoke of oxen it is true, but this is a small matter when we consider the advantages derived from the process; and the labor and cost dwindles to almost nothing, when we further consider that the process does not require to be repeated oftener than once in from ten to fifteen years. Besides, the plough costs but very little, and one would be sufficient to do the work of a whole neighborhood for many years.

I broke twenty acres with this plough last fall, and the ground ploughs very light and fine this spring; it is old ground, without stumps, and broke to the depth above mentioned.

I have also found great benefit in making water furrows in rolling land, or where there are long descents. These are very easily laid off by the use of a level. By running the plow several times in the same furrow, and removing the loose earth with hoes, the work is soon done; and if blue grass seed be sown on the lower side, and a little attention be paid to mending up broken places for the first year until the grass is well set the work is complete and becomes a permanent improvement; and if properly projected, is almost a complete protection against the washing of the soil. By means of these improvements I can put my land in first rate order with the plough and harrow, and there is no danger of my corn being washed up by the rain. When I have planted my crop, which I always do by the first of May, I consider that the work necessary to make it is half done.

My neighbors thought very little of my subsoil plough or water furrows when I first introduced the use of them. . . . Of late, however, some have begun to think better of my speculations, as they were pleased to call my experiments in the beginning.

My farm has been in cultivation about twenty years, and by the use of water furrows, and the application of a little manure, my land is more productive and my crops more certain and abundant now than when it was first cleared. . . .

I will mention that about twenty-eight years ago [1820] I built a double wool carding machine, in my own shop, and put it in operation for the convenience of the country. About the same time I built and put in operation the first cotton gin that was built in the State; and the year after, I put in operation a cotton spinning factory. This was about the first attempt at spinning cotton by machinery in Missouri. These works were put in operation at the place where the county seat of Montgomery county is now located. . . .

ST. LOUIS CONTRIBUTES TO MEDICINE

An Editorial from the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, September 14, 1938.

Isolation of vitamin K by Dr. Edward A. Doisy, noted research chemist at the St. Louis University School of Medicine, again emphasizes St. Louis' importance in the field of medicine and its related sciences. Although this factor in diet necessary for coagulation of blood has been

known since 1929, it never before has been separated from its compounds. Experiments indicate that it should have beneficial effect in emergencies arising from hemophilia and childbirth hemorrhages. With characteristic modesty, Dr. Doisy and his associates say that separation of the vitamin merely means that it will have an "important application in many fields of surgery and other conditions involving hemorrhage." This is the second valuable discovery by Dr. Doisy; in 1930 he discovered theelin, the female sex hormone.

Records show that the doctors and other scientists of St. Louis medical institutions have made many valuable contributions during the last few years. Much progress was made during the study of the encephalitis epidemic. An improved method of preventing tetanus was discovered and a revolutionary advance in treatment of diabetes was made. Successful removal of an entire lung in one operation—for the first time in medical history—was accomplished by two Washington University surgeons. The Edward Mallinckrodt Institute, only institution of its kind in North America, has added greatly to the field of radiology and Barnard Free Skin and Cancer Hospital has contributed materially to science's knowledge of cancer. A way was found to make visible the impulse or message traveling over a nerve. One of the first microscopes to use electrons instead of light rays was constructed at Washington University. Such progress as this is of inestimable value to man, and it also adds much to the luster of St. Louis.

SENATOR LINN CASTS \$500 BALLOT

From the Columbia, *Missouri Intelligencer*, April 18, 1835.

A most laughable incident occurred in the Senate chamber of the United States on Saturday afternoon during the course of balloting for printer. Dr. Linn of Missouri in the heat of the engagement instead of his ballot deposited a check for \$500 which he had just received from the Sergeant at Arms.

A MISSOURI WALTZ IN 1850

From the St. Louis *Daily Missouri Republican*, July 13, 1850.

Missouri Waltz.—We have this day [either July 2 or July 12] published the beautiful Missouri Waltz which has been so long called for by those who have heard us play it. We recommend it as a beautiful piece to waltz after and easily executed; together with the beautiful song, "Oh Say You Love Me Truly," "Beautiful Venice," "There is a Nook in the Green Wood," "Pestal, or Troubled Heart," "Farewell, My Father Land," "Gentle Sighs the Bugle," "There is a Bower of Roses on Bendevillers Stream," and also a new supply of Ethiopian songs such as "D Ley Jose," "Virginia Rose Bud," "My Brother Jim," "Dine and Love," "Dearest May," "Nelly Was a Lady," &c., &c. together with all the latest publications of the day.

John Gass, 85 Fourth Street.

ABOLITION AID SOCIETY

From the *Glasgow Times*, March 15, 1855.

The following is the mode of recognition by the members of this Society: They have a piece of leather twelve inches in length, cut in the shape of a horse shoe. About one half the piece, including the middle, is one inch in width; the remainder at each end, is cut much smaller, being a small string. The ends of the string are tied together. This piece of leather is worn in the left vest pocket. Whenever used, it is taken out by the right hand and carelessly strapped over the left. If this is answered by another in the same way—although strangers to each other—they are at once friends.

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